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NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA

ILLUSTRATA.

PART II.

NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA
ILLUSTRATA.

THE

ORIENTAL COINS,

ANCIENT AND MODERN,

OF HIS

COLLECTION,

DESCRIBED

AND

HISTORICALLY ILLUSTRATED

BY

WILLIAM MARSDEN, F. R. S. &c. &c.

WITH NUMEROUS PLATES,

87511
aC.

FROM DRAWINGS MADE UNDER HIS INSPECTION.

PART II.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,
BY COX AND BAYLIS, GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN-FIELDS,
AND SOLD BY LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER ROW;
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INTRODUCTION TO PART II

THE coins that were the subjects of description in the First Part of this work belonged in general to the great empire of the khalifs, in its original and its declining state, or to the various dynasties that sprang from its ruins. The countries, therefore, of which they formed the currency were the western regions of Asia, with others immediately bordering on them in Europe and Africa. What are treated of in this Second Part, appertain, on the other hand, to the more eastern division of the Asiatic continent, including Persia, India, and China, together with the Indo-Chinese peninsulas, and the islands geographically connected with them, as far as Japan: comprehending in the whole that portion of the world which, relatively to our own western situation, is denominated Oriental.

It must be recollected, however, that what this work presents to the public is not a general or abstract view of the coinage of those extensive regions, which would demand a much more copious and uninterrupted series under each head, but simply a description of what is contained in the actual cabinet of an individual, rich indeed beyond what might be expected, in some classes, but in its nature limited and necessarily incomplete. Yet I flatter myself that a methodised account of the numismatic treasure I have been enabled, with much pains, to accumulate, may not only gratify curiosity, but eventually prove an useful guide to those who, either as conservators of national museums or private collectors for their own liberal amusement, shall be desirous of arranging and describing their oriental medals, and of ultimately giving them that sort of publicity

publicity which can alone render the information they convey available to the historian. To improve upon the performance, either in its plan or execution, will not prove difficult to those who may follow me in the same line. So multifarious indeed, and often ambiguous, are the circumstances attending the examination of the coins, that oversights as well as erroneous conjectures have been unavoidable, and the discovery of them by persons who may happen to possess more perfect specimens or have made certain classes more particularly their study, should afford no ground for surprise or exultation.

In the course of describing the coins my obligations have been occasionally expressed to various friends who have contributed to the collection, whilst in several instances I have, through inadvertence, omitted to particularise similar acts of kindness, although not less grateful for them, and I am only deterred from enumerating the names of the donors in this place, from the apprehension of its appearing ostentatious.

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND PART.

	Page
Introduction	v
Persian - Sassanian dynasty	435
Sûfi race	448
Nâdir Shâh and Successors	472
Copper money, with figures	507
Patan or *Afghân* sultans of Hindustan	517
Kings of the East	556
Patan sultans and governors of Bengal	561
Moghul emperors of Hindustan	586
Tipu Sultân of Mysore	699
Ancient Hindu	726
South of India	735
Nêpâl	752
Asám	774
Rangpûr	787
Jaya-nagara	789
Kuch-Behâr	790
Tiperah or *Tripura*	793
Jayanti-pura	798
Manipura	801
Arrakan	804
Ava	805
Tavoy, Tanaserim, and Mergui	806
Siam	807

Page

Achin - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 808

Pulo Pinang - - - - - - - - - - - - - 809

West Coast of Sumatra - - - - - - - - - - - 810

Java - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 811

Japan - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 814

China - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 818

Miscellaneous Coins - - - - - - - - - - - 831

PERSIAN.

SASSANIAN DYNASTY.

In treating of the coins of Persia belonging to the collection, the first in point of antiquity that present themselves are those termed Sassanian or money of the Khosru dynasty, whose dominion was overthown by the early Mussulman conquerors. Yet so meagre and unsatisfactory are the legends, and so imperfect, ambiguous, and obscure the characters employed, that it had not been my design to attempt a description of the few I had originally acquired; but as the learned labours of the Baron S. de Sacy have removed some of the difficulties that impeded the study of Pahlavi inscriptions,(1) and the number of my specimens has been successively increased,(2) I am induced to bring them into notice, with the view of facilitating the investigation of this peculiar class of coins, by adding to the general means of comparison, rather than the hope of being myself enabled to throw any material light on the subject.

The events which led to the elevation of this race cannot be more clearly and succinctly stated than we find them in the work of that distinguished orientalist, who observes that *Ardévan*, the last prince of the Parthian dynasty, by the Greek and Roman historians called Artaban, after establishing himself in the sovereignty by the defeat of his brothers (sons of Volgèses), and maintaining a successful warfare against the emperors Antoninus Caracalla and Macrinus, the latter of whom he compelled to submit to the terms of an ignominious peace, was afterwards

 exposed

(1) Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse, et sur les médailles des rois de la dynastie des Sassanides. Paris 1793, 4to.

(2) Several of these I owe to the kindness of Colonel Fitz Clarence, and one (containing the Arabic name of *Sàid*) to that of Colonel Johnson.

exposed to the attack of a domestic enemy, who aspired to the possession of the throne. This rival, whom the oriental writers name *Ardeshir*, and the western, Artaxerxes, became the founder of a new Persian dynasty, to which the appellation of Sassanian has been given. Although historians differ as to his origin and the name of his father, the prevailing opinion is, that he was the son of Babek and the grandson of Sassan (ساسان). That his birth was not so obscure or base as has been asserted by some of the Greek writers, may be inferred from the inscriptions of Nakshi Rustam, where his father appears to bear the title of king, as well as from the silence of Moses of Khorène.(3) But whatever the circumstances may have been, we are entirely ignorant of the motives that led him to take up arms against Ardévan, or from what resources he was enabled to form a party sufficiently strong to enforce his pretensions to the sovereign power.(4) We only learn that after three sanguinary combats, in the last of which Ardévan lost his life, the usurper remained master of the Parthian empire, the limits of which he soon proceeded to extend; in haughty terms demanding of the Romans that they should yield up their former conquests from Parthia. It may, indeed, be presumed that a display of zeal for the re-establishment of the ancient worship of the Persians, in all the splendour it had acquired under the government of the Arsacides, was not the least efficacious of the means employed by Ardeshir, to engage the affections of the people, and open his way to the throne.(5)

(3) " His birth, says Gibbon, was obscure, and the obscurity equally gave room to the aspersions of his enemies, and the flattery of his adherents. If we credit the scandal of the former, Artaxerces sprang from the illegitimate commerce of a tanner's wife with a common soldier. The latter represent him as descended from a branch of the ancient kings of Persia." He adds in a note: " The tanner's name was Babec; the soldier's Sassan: from the former Artaxerces obtained the surname of Babegan; from the latter, all his descendants have been styled Sassanides." Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. i. p. 239.

(4) " As the lineal heir of the monarchy, he asserted his right to the throne, and challenged the noble task of delivering the Persians from the oppression under which they groaned above five centuries since the death of Darius." Decline and Fall &c. ib. The Parthians appear to have been a race of Turks, against whom the more original population might have been disposed to rise (like the Chinese) whenever a favourable occasion presented itself.

(5) Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse, p. 166.

KINGS

KINGS OF PERSIA

OF THE *SASSANIAN* ساسانیان RACE.

		A.D.
1.	*Ardeshîr-Babegân ben Sásán*	223
2.	*Shahpûhr*, *Shapûr*, or Sapor	238
3.	*Hormuzd* or Hormisdas	271
4.	*Baharâm* or Varanes	273
5.	*Baharâm* or Varanes II.	279
6.	*Baharâm* or Varanes III.	296
7.	*Narsî* or Narses	297
8.	*Hormuzd* or Hormisdas II.	303
9.	*Shahpûhr* or Sapor II.	310
10.	*Ardeshîr* or Artaxerces II.	380
11.	*Shahpûhr* or Sapor III.	384
12.	*Baharâm* or Varanes IV.	389
13.	*Yezdegird* or Isdegerde	399
14.	*Baharâm-gaur* or Varanes V.	420
15.	*Yezdegird* or Isdegerde II.	440
16.	*Hormuzd* or Hormisdas III.	457
17.	*Fîrûz* or Perose	457
18.	*Balâs*, *Palash*, or Balascès	488
19.	*Kobâd* or Cavadès	491
20.	*Jamasp*	498
21.	*Khosrû*, *Kesrî* (*Nûshîrvân*) or Chosroès	531
22.	*Hormuzd* or Hormisdas IV.	579
23.	*Khosrû-Parvîz*, *Kesrî*, or Chosroès II.	589
24.	*Kobâd-Shîrûyieh* or Siroès	628
25.	*Ardeshîr* III. or Adèser	629
26.	*Shahriâr* or Sarbazas	629
27.	*Purân-Dokht*	629
28.	*Azermi-Dokht*	631
29.	*Ferokh-zad-Bakhtyar*	631
30.	*Yezdegird* or Isdegerde III.	632

The foregoing list of Persian kings of the fourth dynasty was formed, in the first instance, from that which will be found annexed to Gladwin's Persian Vocabulary (printed at Malda, in Bengal, by Mr. Wilkins, in the year 1780), and has been subsequently compared with the *Tarîkh Jehân-ará*, as well as with the list given in 'L'Art de Vérifier les Dates,' the authority of which last work has been followed in assigning to the several reigns the probable year of their commencement.

It will be seen that many of the kings bore similar names, and not being distinguished from each other, in the legends of their coins, by a patronymic, according to the useful Arabian practice, nor by ordinal numbers, according to the European, it happens that a considerable degree of uncertainty attends the individual whose 'image and superscription' the money was intended to bear; and especially amongst names so frequently repeated as *Shahpûhr*, *Hormuzd*, and others. To supply, in some measure, a remedy to this defect, M. de Sacy has suggested a criterion of discrimination in the circumstances represented on the obverse of the coins. Those on which the altar stands alone and unsupported by any human figures, he conjectures to be the most ancient; those where it is guarded by two figures armed with pikes, whose faces are averted from the altar, to be the next in antiquity; and those on which the figures, holding swords with the points raised, have their faces turned towards the altar, to be the most modern of the three classes. Among the specimens in this collection, however, there are not any in which the altar is unaccompanied with figures, and there is only one (of bronze) in which the figures have the faces averted. Of those with the faces turned towards the altar there are several; but in much the greater number they look directly forward, and the hands rest on their perpendicular swords. These must consequently be distinguished as an additional class, which will be found to admit of subdivisions arising from peculiarities in the legends that denote them to belong to the close of the dynasty. In the state of obscurity in which the subject is involved, and the want of assistance from chronological *data*, I shall not hesitate to follow the example of my learned friend in commencing with the description of those specimens on which the words (few and uninforming as they are) can be read with the most confidence.

DXVI.

SHAHPÛHR.

I. Caput regis, facie ex dimidio positâ, crinibus longis crispatis, barbâ spissâ, curtâ, inauribus pendentibus, diademate pileoque sphærico indutum. (Literis Persicis antiquis), مزديسن بة شهپوهري ملكان ملكا ايران و انيران *Mazdiesn beh Shahpûhrî malkân malkâ Irân wa Anîrân.* Adorantis *Ormuzd*, excellentis *Shahpûhrî*, regis regum *Irân* (Persiæ) et regionum extra Persiam. SILVER.

II. Ara cum ardente igne, duobusque adstantibus hominibus, faciebus ad aram versis, gladios cuspide sursûm elevata manu tenentibus.

(Iisdem literis), شهپوهري يزدان *Shah(pûhrî) ïezdân* divinus. 2 dw. 19 gr.

Upon examining the coins of *Shahpûhr* or Sapor (of which there are several) by the criteria suggested in the 'Antiquités de la Perse,'(1) they appear to belong to the third Sassanian king of that name, the son of *Shahpûhr* II., who began to reign about the year 384, and bear a decided resemblance to those represented in Pl. VIII. of that work,(2) as well in the peculiar ornaments of the head, as in the position of the figures on the reverse, with respect to the altar, and the form of the altar itself. There are, however, some points of difference amongst the specimens, which will be noticed as they occur.

The word *Mazdiesn* is said to be composed of *Mazd*, one of the names of *Ormuzd*, and *iesn* to adore or invoke, and it is satisfactorily shewn by M. de Sacy that in the word *An-îrân* the first syllable is equivalent to the privative *a* of the Greek and Sanskrit languages, with the addition of *n* to prevent the hiatus; being intended to denote (hyperbolically) all countries not included under the denomination of *Irân*, or, in a more restricted sense, what was otherwise called *Turân*.

Beneath the legend and near its commencement we perceive, on this first

(1) P. 203.

(2) Particularly to No. 16 of that Plate.

first specimen, two supernumerary and similar characters, resembling the Pahlavi *t* and *j* or *g*, and at the same time not unlike the Arabic ج, which the Baron, who notices such extra-linear characters on medals in the cabinet of the king of France, thinks may probably stand for numeral characters, expressing the years of the monarch's reign.

DXVII.—DXXII.

SILVER. On six specimens resembling this in most respects, and apparently of the same king, no additional characters of a similar description are found.

DXXIII.

SILVER. One specimen of the smaller size, expressing distinctly the word *Shahpûhri*, and having the ornaments supposed to distinguish the third king of that name, differs from the others as well in the form of some of the characters, as in the shape of the altar, and more especially in the remarkable circumstance of exhibiting in the midst of the flames that arise from it, the appearance of a human head. We may therefore question the propriety of classing it along with the preceding, although without being enabled to ascertain the individual to whom it should be assigned. A similar representation will be found in engravings given by Pellerin in the Third Supplement to his 'Recueil de Medailles' Pl. II. No. 4 et 5.; but the name of the prince is there read *Shahriâr*.(1)

(1) Speaking of these engravings M. de Sacy says: "Ce qu'on y remarque de plus singulier, est une tête placée au milieu des flammes, sur l'autel où brûle le feu sacré." P. 188. Instead, however, of a decollated head placed in the flames, it might be considered as the representation of a figure beginning to ascend from them; the *feruar*, perhaps, of Persian mythology; by which term is understood, a separate, spiritual existence of each living individual; and what is here exhibited may

DXXIV.

On the reverse of a bronze or copper medal, likewise bearing the name of *Shahpûhr* in its legend, the countenances of the two figures that appear to guard, rather than to officiate at the altar, are averted from it; contrary to what we have observed on the preceding coins; from whence I am led to refer it also to an earlier period than the reign of *Shahpûhr* III., and to consider it as belonging to a different class. There is an evident variation in the terms of the legend, which I cannot satisfactorily read; some of the characters appearing to have unusual forms. On the reverse, however, the words *Shahpûhri ïezdâni* (divinus) are quite distinct. A similar type, either on silver or copper, has not occured in any engravings that have come under my observation. COPPER.

We have in the next place to examine a numerous class of these medals, differing from the preceding, not only in their legends, but in having a much larger surface; the circles that inclose the head and figures being surrounded by flat rims, ornamented with crescents and stars, but without any inscriptions in that part. On the reverse the faces of the two figures that guard the sacred fire are made to front the spectator, instead of turning to the right or the left, as in former specimens, and their swords rest on the ground. The shape of the altar, likewise, is materially changed, being so much attenuated as to approach to that of a candelabrum.

may be the 'genius' of the king himself, brought to view by the performance of religious rites. Sir W. Ouseley, indeed, suggests a different explanation of this mysterious appearance, where he says: "In the human head placed on a fire-altar, we may discover *Ormuzd*, or the Divinity, existing amidst flames." Travels in Persia, vol. I. p. 441, and Pl. XXI. No. 39.

For an idea of the *nature* of these incorporeal beings called *fervar* or *férouer*, the Zend-Avesta should be consulted. Respecting their *appearance*, the Baron de Sacy, in describing the figure on an engraved gem, says: "Elle représente un buste porté sur deux ailes, emblême, je crois, du *férouer*." Mémoires d'Histoire et de Litterature Orient. p. 227.

DXXV.

DXXV.—DXXXI.

On the obverse of one of these specimens there are letters that may be read *artshtr*, as if intended for *Artahshetr*, the *Ardeshîr* of the modern Persians and Artaxerxes of the Greeks.(1) On others may be perceived the doubtful orthography of the names of different kings, to which the application of skill and patience may hereafter be successfully directed.(2) On the reverses, and in that part which would be the lower line when held horizontally for reading, there are in most instances two characters (*bn*, *bd*, *md*, *pl*, *ld*) that have strongly the appearance of alphabetic numerals.

DXXXII.

A medal resembling these in the ornaments of the head is on that account only annexed to the class, being different from them in most other respects; particularly in the position of the figures, the shape of the altar, and the narrowness of the rim. Its singularity renders it worthy of attention, although nothing is to be learned from its imperfect inscriptions.

(1) See 'Mém. d'histoire et de litterature Orientale,' p. 219.

(2) How little had been effected in the explanation of Persic inscriptions previously to the appearance of M. de Sacy's work, in 1793, notwithstanding the learned labours of Hyde and of Anquetil, will be evident from the expressions used in 1789, by Professor T. Ch. Tychsen, a most intelligent oriental scholar, who, in adverting to Sassanian medals belonging to the R. A. of Gottingen, says: "Utrinque cernitur scriptura Persica antiqua, nemini adhuc explicata.....Equidem singulas (sc. literas) explicare aut lectionem numorum divinare, minime ausim." Comment iii. p. 52.

DXXXIII.—DXXXIX.

Another class, having the same extent of margin, is, with respect to the exterior ornaments, conspicuously distinguished from these by appendages resembling wings, that rise from the crown of the head, and forming a sort of winged diadems, supply the place of the spherical cap noticed on the coins of the class first described, and also by an obvious variety in the legend, which consists of more than the usual number of words. Upon seven of this class may be read the name of *Hoslui* or *Khoslui* (for Khosröe), the characters of which were first deciphered by Sir W. Ouseley, on a medal belonging to the Hunterian Museum of Glasgow,(1) and his reading of the obscure word has been sanctioned by the opinion of Baron de Sacy.(2) We may therefore presume them to be the coinage of *Khosru Parviz*, twenty third on the list of kings of this dynasty, who began to reign A.D. 589, and sat on the throne of Persia thirty-nine years. On two of these specimens the head has a less aged appearance than on the other five, and one of them is entirely beardless.

Exclusively of some peculiar characters in that part of the obverse where, on the coins of *Shahpûhr*, the inscription commenced, and which will be noticed in the sequel, we see on the outside of the circle, upon most of the specimens, three large and fair Pahlavi characters that seem to be *a p d;* and it is remarkable that they are found only on those which present the more aged heads. If numerical, we might have expected some variety, and that the younger heads should have equally had their dates.

DXL.

(1) See "Observations on some medals and gems, bearing inscriptions in the Pahlavi or ancient Persick character.' P. 30.

(2) "Ayant découvert la véritable orthographe et l'étymologie du mot *khosrou* dans la langue Zende, je n'hésite plus (says the Baron, with his wonted candour) à me ranger à l'opinion de M. Ouseley." Mém. de Litt. orient. p. 224.

DXL.

Our attention is now called to a medal more circumstantial in its legends, and therefore possessing more interest than belongs to the generality of those of the Sassanian dynasty. In the features of the bearded head, the style of ornaments, and the winged diadem, it is similar to those coins on which the name of *Hoslui* or *Khosru* has been deciphered; although that name does not appear in its inscription. Its chief peculiarity, however, is, that the exterior characters, or those which stand without the circle, on the obverse, are indisputably Arabic, expressing the words الحمد لله *lillahi 'l-hemd* 'laus Deo.'

This mixture of languages on Sassanian medals had long been noticed and regarded as inexplicable by the learned. The late Professor O. G. Tychsen of Rostoch, was, I believe, the first who attempted to account for it, by supposing the coinage to belong to a period when the fugitive descendants of the last Persian kings, who had taken shelter in the strong countries of Georgia and Gilan, and were not finally subdued by the Arabs until the year 99 of the hejrah, had principalities assigned to them on the condition of paying an annual tribute, and having the khalif's name (of which instances will appear) impressed on their money.(1)

In consequence, however, of later numismatic discoveries, by the Conte Castiglioni of Milan, M. l'abbé Reinaud, and more especially by Professor Fraehn of St. Petersburgh, it has been ably contended by the latter orientalist that these bilingual inscriptions should be referred to an earlier period of the khalifat, and that the money on which they are found is precisely that which Makrizi had described as being struck by the khalifs *Omar*, *Othmân*, and *Muawîah*, for the currency of their own dominions, previously to the establishment of a national mussulman coinage, wholly Arabic, in the year 75 or 76, during the khalifat of *Abd al-malek*.(2) Of this identity the evidences are such as cannot be disputed;

(1) See 'Introd. in rem num. Muhammedanorum.' Append. p. 31-34. Dynastæ ignicolæ.

(2) See Journal Asiatique, t. II. p. 257. 'Des monnaies des khalifes avant l'an 75 de l'hégire,' par S. de Sacy, and t. III. p. 331. 'Supplément au Mémoire sur les monnaies Arabes des Chosroès,' par M. Frœhn.

puted; but at the same time it seems probable that the mint-operations, so far as respected the currency in question, were carried on, not by Arabian or Syrian artists endeavouring to copy the old Persic type, but by the Persians themselves, whose workmen had only to learn the less difficult task of imitating a few cufic characters; and that however extensive the circulation of this money may have been throughout the empire of the faithful, it had its source amongst the infidels.(3) Yet as it was issued under the authority and stamp of the mussulman conqueror, the Syrian writer was fully warranted in his assertion that 'Omar caused dirhems to be struck with the same impressions as were in use under the Khosröes, and of the same form, with the addition only of certain Arabic sentences, upon some, and upon others the name of the khalif.'(4)

The peculiar words before adverted to, as being found in that part where the inscription had usually commenced, and which have place here also, are considered by the learned Professor as indubitably Arabic, and read by him حجاج بن يوسف *Hejâj ben Yûsuf*. I do not hesitate to avow that these characters, although often attentively examined, had not conveyed to me the idea of their being other than ancient Persic, nor does it appear that they were otherwise considered by the learned author of 'Observations on some medals and gems bearing inscriptions in the Pahlavi or ancient Persick character', in theplate prefixed to which, on No. 6, they will be found, as on all the specimens that have the winged ornament; yet I am equally free to admit that the first word, combined as the letters are, in a sort of monogram or cipher, might, when warranted by the context, denote the name of حجاج *Hejâj*, but notwithstanding that the characters are now before me on a dozen coins, mostly quite fair and distinct, I cannot persuade myself that those of the second short line are intended for بن يوسف *beni Yûsuf*, or even of their being Cufic; although it is possible, at the same time, that the engraving of a Persian artist, ignorant of the Arabic language, may

 have

(3) It may not be thought irrelevant to remark, that the cities incidentally spoken of in this part of Makrizi's text are Basrah and Kufah, both near the Persian gulf, and not far from Madaïn, on the Tigris, the capital of the unfortunate *Yezdegird*, the last of the Sassanian monarchs.

(4) 'Al-Makrizi Hist. monetæ Arabicæ, versa &c. ab. O. G. Tychsen,' p. 79. 'Traité des monnoies musulmanes, traduit de l'Arabe de Makrizi par A. I. Silvestre de Sacy,' p. 13.

have so perverted their forms as to render them undistinguishable. The word بن *ben* or *beni* is not to be discovered; the letter presumed to be د *d* is merely a circle, without the dependent stroke; that which should stand for س *s* has only a double instead of a treble indentation; and the final letter has more resemblance to the Pahlavi *t*, than to the Arabic ف *f*. But an argument that will have more weight than those drawn from literal discrimination, is, that the characters in question occur on numerous specimens in the collection which contain no traces of the name of *Hejdj*.

DXLI.—DXLII.

It now remains to examine two well-executed medals of the same class, but of a smaller size and less weight than the others, corresponding nearly with those which contain the title of Khosru,(1) as well in the ornaments of the diadem, as in those words of the inscription, within the double circle, that have been supposed to express the name and descent of *Hejdj*, and also in the three Pahlavi characters lying without the circles that seem to answer to *a p d* of our alphabet. But their distinguishing feature is the Arabian name of عمر *Omar*, on one specimen, and of سعيد *Sa'id* upon the other, in distinct Cufic characters, occupying that part of the area where we had been accustomed to read the names of the Persian kings.(2)

That names so conspicuously placed on the coinage of a conquered empire lately reduced to the state of a province, must have belonged to mussulman chiefs of the highest political or military consequence, cannot be questioned, but whether we shall be justified in attributing them to the first

(1) If these coins were struck under mussulman influence, subsequently to the overthrow of the Persian empire, the name of *Khoslui* or Khosru found upon them must be generical, and not that of any individual prince. It is known, indeed, that the Sassanian race were by the Arabian writers collectively styled كسري *Kesra*, as by the Greeks, Chosröes.

(2) "Adlerus Berolensis similem Niebuhrii possidet, qui nomen عمر *Omar* cuficis litteris exaratum ibi exhibet, ubi in Niebuhrii numo سعيد *Saed* locum habet." Introd. in rem. num. Ap. p. 32.

first khalif named *Omar* (the successor of *Abu-bekr*) and to his general, *Sâîd*, who gained for him the famous battle of *Kadasîah* and thereby overturned the Sassanian monarchy, or to other personages of the same names, I do not pretend to determine. M. Fraehn, who had at one period adopted the former opinion, has since ingenuously stated his reasons for questioning its correctness, as being chronologically inconsistent with their bearing the name and patronymic of *Hejâj;* of the certainty of which reading he appears not to entertain the smallest doubt.(3) Should the circumstantial and fair inscriptions on the reverses be satisfactorily explained (by laborious analysis and not by bold conjecture) they may probably clear up the historical difficulty.

(3) " Effectivement, he says, je m'étais convaincu de la justesse de ma lecture par un examen minutieux et prolongé." Journ. Asiat. t. III. p. 338.

KINGS OF PERSIA

OF THE صوفي *SUFI* OR صفي *SAFI* RACE.

THE early history of this dynasty, which claimed descent from *Ali*, the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet, is involved in the obscurity that generally attends families whose destiny has raised them from mediocrity to unexpected grandeur. Being members of a persecuted religious sect, they became the more atttached to a system of faith that was sanctioned by the name of their great ancestor, and cherishing the hope of a revival of their hereditary pretensions, they appear to have aimed at political influence in maintaining the character of austere devotees. The first of the race who acquired any distinguished reputation for sanctity was named صَفي الدين *Safi ed-din*, professedly a صوفي *Súfi* or mystic philosopher, and it is commonly supposed that from him the *Sophis* of Persia derived their appellation; but with equal probability it may be referred to the name of *Ismáil al-Súfi*, the first sovereign prince.(1)

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(1) Opinions have been discordant on the question whether this appellative should be traced to the word صَفي *Safi* (also written *Sefi*), which signifies 'pure, clear, select,' or to صوفي *Súfi*, signifying 'wise, religious,' and also 'clothed in woollen.' The authorities for the latter are principally Golius, D'Herbelot, Kæmpfer, and Le Brun, the first of whom says: "صوفي Sophus, sapiens, et religiosus, sive à σοφὸς, sive à lana, quòd sericum non induit, pec. qui res divinas &c. Unde rex Sophorum idem qui Persarum est: quòd Ismael primus imperantis nunc familiæ Sophus talis fuit," Sub radice صفا. "*Sofi:* ce mot (says D'Herbelot) signifie proprement en Arabe, un homme vêtu de laine.....Le mot de Sofi se prend en Perse pour un religieux Musulman..... Les ancêtres de la race qui regne aujourd-hui en Perse, tels que sont Scheïkh Sefi et Scheïkh Haïdar, ont porté le surnom de Sofi, et Schâh Ismaël, fils de ce dernier, qui est sorti de la vie privée et qui a le premier jetté les fondemens de cette dynastie ou monarchie, retint ce surnom, et se faisoit appeller Ismaël Sofi." Au mot Sofi. "Ismael (says le Brun) se rendit maître de toute la Perse, que ses neveux possedent encore aujourd'hui. Il se fit ensuite nommer *Sophi*, mot Arabe, qui signifie une personne habillée de laine, et une zélé *mussulman*." Voyages, p. 397. "Circa etymologiam tituli *Sophi*, regiæ stirpi adhærentis, sciendum est (says Kæmpfer) eum ex opinione Persarum non derivari, quod vulgò putatur, ex voce Persicâ صَاف *saaf*, quod purum, aut Arabicâ صِفي *tsaphi* quod defæcatum et in melius reformatum notat...sed ex nomine Persico صوف *suf* vel *suuph*, quo notant pannum tenuem cymatilem, Gallis *camlot* dictum..... Primus igitur regentis prosapiæ rex Ismaël, ob religionis amorem (quippe ex sanguine illustrium theologorum

One of the descendants of the former, named *Juneid*, 'took up the sacred mantle after the death of his father,'(2) but was driven from *Ardebil*, his place of residence, by *Jehân Shâh*, the Turkomân ruler of the province of *Adherbijân*, who felt alarm at the increasing number of his followers. In *Diarbekr* he found an asylum with another Turkomân chief, the celebrated *Uzun Hassan*,(3) whose sister he married; but afterwards lost his life in a military conflict, when endeavouring to establish himself

theologorum satus) *Suphi*, vel depravatâ vocali, *Sophi*...cognominatus est; vocabulo quidem appellativo, quod cum صفي *Sephi*, nomine proprio confundi non debet!" Amœnitates exoticæ, p. 14. Chardin, on the other hand, treats such opinions with ridicule. "Il sera plus à propos, he says, de remarquer le méconte de nos ecrivains sur ce mesme nom de *Sefié*. Ils veulent tous que les rois de Perse s'appellent Sophy. Je ne sçaurois m'empescher de rire quand je voy dans leurs écrits le grand Sophy &c. Les rois de Perse ne sont point appellez Sophys en général ni mesme en particulier: aucun n'a jamais porté ce nom comme ces gens l'écrivent et le prononcent; mais bien le nom de *Sefié* ou *Safié*." Couronnement de Soleïmaan roy de Perse, p. 138. Meninski, after giving the interpretation of Golius, adds: "Vidi tamen ego in literis ad eumdem olim Ismaelem a Turcarum imperatore exaratis scribi non صوفي *sofi*, sed صفي *sæfi*." Sub verb. It will also be considered as of much weight on this side of the question that the تاريخ عالم اراي عباسي *Tarîkhi Ââlam Araï Abbâsî*, an original Persian history (compiled about the year 1616), styles the first king of the dynasty اسمعيل صفي *Ismâîl Safî*, and is silent as to his affecting the religious denomination. This, however, may be thought to prove too much, for it will scarcely be disputed that the family, up to a certain time, were avowed *Sûfis* and proud of the distinction, but it is possible that having attained to that royal eminence to which through many generations they had aspired, they might view the religious character, which had served their purpose, with a different eye, and cease to consider the term of 'poor philosopher' as compatible with their new dignity. The monarch whose coronation Chardin had an opportunity of witnessing was the grandson of *Shâh Safi*, and the accidental circumstance of this name resembling the word *Sufi*, which may have impressed some travellers with the belief that the ancient appellation continued to exist, may have led another to dispute the fact of its having ever been adopted by any of the race. That it has not prevailed in Persia since the days of that sovereign is evident, but upon the whole it seems fair to conclude that if it is necessary to distinguish the dynasty by one or other of these two ambiguous terms, that of *Sûfi* or *Sophi*, which was a professional appellative, has a preferable claim to that of *Safi* or *Sefi*, which was only the proper name of certain individual princes.

(2) See Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, vol. i. p. 495, where will be found a succinct account of the origin and progress to dominion of this family. At a subsequent period he mentions that *Shâh Husein* was prevailed upon "to prosecute all sectaries: and among these the principal were the Sooffees, a class of philosophical Deists, to which several of his ancestors belonged." P. 595.

(3) An original report of an embassy to the court of this conqueror of Persia was published in a Collection of Travels by Aldus, Vinegia 1545, 12mo., under the head of 'Viaggio del clarissimo Messer Ambrogio Contareno nella Persia, mandato per ambasciatore dalla illust. Signoria di Vinetia, allo illust. Signore *Usun Cassan* re di Persia.'

himself in the province of *Shîrwân*, after vainly attempting to recover his footing in *Adherbijân*. His son *Sheikh Haidar*, supported by his uncle *Hassan*, who by the defeat of *Jehân Shâh* and also of *Abú Sa'íd*, the last prince of the race of *Hulâgú*, had rendered himself master of the kingdom of Persia, made another attack upon *Shîrwân*, but was equally unfortunate with his father, being there repulsed and slain. His body, however, was carried for interment to *Ardebil*, and his tomb became an object of religious veneration.

Of three sons borne to him by the daughter of *Uzun Hassan*, one was killed and another died within a few years of the death of their father. *Ismâ'îl al-Sáfí*, the youngest, survived the wreck of his family, and was reserved to act a distinguished part in the history of that disturbed period. At an early time of life he expelled from *Shîrwân* and *Adherbijân* the chiefs by whom they were ruled, and fixed his residence at *Tabríz*, the capital of the latter. He soon afterwards defeated the chief of another Turkomân tribe, named *Sultân Murâd* near *Hamadân*, in Irak, and about the year 9081–502 was acknowledged as sovereign of the kingdom of Persia, to which he annexed the important province of *Khorasân*. In 920–1514 he fought a battle with *Selîm*, the Ottoman sultan, and experienced a signal overthrow, but unattended with any important results. In 926–1519 he subdued the kingdom of Georgia, and died in 930–1523,4, at *Ardebil*, whither he had gone to visit the tomb of his father.

Through the influence of this family the religious doctrines of the *Shîâhs* or followers of *Ali* have ever prevailed in Persia, and a strong hatred of the *Sûnnîs* and their principles, adopted by the Ottomans, has been nourished amongst the people, and rendered the more inveterate by political rivalship. It may also be observed that the mystic enthusiasm of the *Sûfîs* has pervaded the writings of their most eminent poets and philosophers, where sentiments, affecting to be divine, are clothed in expressions of the utmost sensuality.(4)

Succession

(4) The reader is referred to an essay 'on the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus,' by Sir W. Jones, where it is described as being "a singular species of poetry, which consists almost wholly of a mystical religious allegory, though it seems on a transient view to contain only the sentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertinism." Vol. III. p. 165. The subject is also ably treated in Malcolm's Hist. of Persia, vol. II. p. 382.

Succession of kings of the *Sûfî* race in Persia, and of those who have reigned since its extinction.

		A.H.	A.D.
1. *Ismâîl al-Sûfî ben Sheikh Haidar*	اسمعيل الصوفي بن الشيخ حيدر	905	1499
2. *Shâh Tahmâsp ben Ismâîl*	شاه طهماسپ بن اسمعيل	932	1525
3. *Shâh Ismaîl II. ben Tahmâsp*	شاه اسمعيل بن طهماسپ	983	1575
4. *Muhammed Khodabandah ben Tahmâsp*	محمد خدابنده بن طهماسپ	985	1577
5. *Hâmzah ben Muhammed* or *Amîr Hams*	حامزه بن محمد	994	1585
6. *Shâh Ismaîl III. ben Muhammed*	شاه اسمعيل بن محمد	994	1585
7. *Shâh Abbâs ben Muhammed*	شاه عبّاس بن محمد	994	1585
8. *Shâh Safî ben Safî Mirzâ ben Abbâs*	شاه صفي بن صفي مرزا بن عبّاس	1039	1629
9. *Shâh Abbâs* II. *ben Shâh Safî*	شاه عبّاس بن شاه صفي	1052	1642
10. *Soleimân ben Shâh Abbâs*	سليمان بن شاه عبّاس	1077	1666
11. *Shâh Husein ben Soleimân*	شاه حسين بن سليمان	1106	1694
12. *Shâh Tahmâsp* II. *ben Shâh Husein*	شاه طهماسپ بن شاه حسين		

Shâh Husein, who abdicated the throne in 1135–1722, is generally considered as the last of the *Sûfî* race, although his son *Tahmâsp* held a nominal sovereignty, during his father's life-time and the actual reign of the *Afghân* prince.

13. *Mahmûd* an *Afghân*	محمود افغان	1135	1722

He invaded Persia, defeated the royal army, took Ispahân, and compelled *Husein* to abdicate.

14. *Ashraf* an *Afghân*	اشرف افغان	1137	1725

Defeated and driven from Persia in 1142–1730, by *Nâdir Kûlî*.

12. *Shâh Tahmâsp* nominally restored		1142	1730

He appears to have coined money in his own name after his escape from Ispahân, previously to his father's abdication. In 1145–1732 he was deposed by *Nâdir*, and was murdered in 1150–1737.

15. *Abbâs* III. *ben Tahmâsp*	عباس بن طهمسپ	1145	1732

This infant was placed upon the throne, in the room of his father,

		A.H.	A.D.
father, by *Nâdir*, who, upon the death of *Abbâs*, was himself proclaimed king of Persia by the title of			
16. *Nâdir Shâh* نادر شاه or *Nâdir Sultân*	نادر سلطان	1148	1736
17. *Adel Shâh*	عادل شاه	1160	1747
The nephew and murderer of *Nâdir Shâh;* deprived of sight by *Ibrahîm* and put to death by *Shâh Rokh.*			
18. *Ibrâhîm*	ابراهيم	1161	1748
The brother of *Adel Shâh*, defeated and put to death by			
19. *Shâh Rokh*	شاه رخ	1163	1749
The grandson of *Nâdir*, and, by his mother's side, of *Shâh Husein.* He assumed the royal title in 1748, but cannot be considered as king of Persia until the death of *Ibrahîm*, about the end of 1749; soon after which he was defeated and deprived of sight by *Seyed Muhammed.* By *Yûsuf Ali* he was replaced on the throne; in 1750 he was imprisoned by *Mir Alim*, and in the same year released by *Ahmed Shâh* king of *Kandahâr*, who established him in the kingdom of *Khorasân.* Here he continued to reign, under the care of his son, until the year 1796, when, at an advanced age, he was dragged away by *Agha Muhammed*, and died under the treatment he experienced on that occasion.			
20. *Soleimân*	سليمان	1163	1750
Originally named *Mirza Seyed Muhammed*, and claiming descent from *Soleimân* the father of *Husein.* After reigning only a few weeks he was destroyed by *Yûsuf Ali.*			
21. *Ismâil ben Seyed Mustafa*	اسمعيل بن سيد مصطفي	1163	1750
The pretended grandson of *Husein.* He reigned nominally under the regencies or protection of *Ali Merdan*, *Muhammed Hasan*, and *Kerîm khân.*			
22. *Muhammed Kerîm khân Zendi*	محمد كريم خان زند	1173	1759
After the destruction of *Ali Merdan* in 1752, he continued to maintain a doubtful struggle with *Muhammed Hasan* and *Azad khân.* Upon the defeat and death of the former in 1759, he assumed the title of وكيل *Wakîl* or Regent, and deeming it expedient to confine *Ismâil* in 1762, exercised the functions of royalty with great ability and advantage to Persia until March 1779			

A.H. A.D.

1779 (1193), when he died at *Shîrâz*, his capital, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. In 1755 he had been defeated by an *Afghân* adventurer named *Azâd khân*, who became master of the Northern provinces of Persia, which were confirmed to him by treaty with the prince of Georgia; but after many reverses of fortune he submitted to *Kerîm khân* about the end of the year 1761, lived in *Shîrâz* as a private individual, and died in 1780.

23. *Zeki khân* زكي خان 1193 1779

The half brother of *Kerîm khân*, upon whose death he seized the government and imprisoned his nephew

24. *Abû'l Fatha khân* ابوالفتح خان 1193 1779

The son of *Kerîm khân*, who, upon the murder of *Zeki* by his own guards, mounted the throne in the month of June. In August he was imprisoned, and afterwards deprived of sight, by *Sadik khân* in the beginning of 1780.

25. *Sâdik khân* صادق خان 1193 1779

The brother of *Kerîm* and uncle of *Abû'l Fatha khân*.

26. *Ali Murâd khân* علي مورا د خان

Having besieged *Sâdik* (his step-father) in *Shîrâz*, made him prisoner, and put him to death, he assumed the title of *Wakîl* or Regent. Whilst engaged in a war with *Agha Muhammed khân*, he died near *Ispahân*, in Feb. 1785.

27. *Jàfar khân* جعفر خان 1199 1785

The son of *Sâdik khân*. He imprisoned *Sheikh Veis*, the son of *Alì Murâd*; assumed the title of Regent in March, 1785; was driven by the arms of *Agha Muhammed* from *Ispahân* to *Shîrâz*, and in Jan. 1789 was murdered in that city by conspirators.

28. *Lutf Ali* لطف علي 1203 1789

The son of *Jàfar*. Having made his escape from Shirâz upon the murder of his father, he returned to that capital in May 1789, and struggled for the dominion of the southern provinces against the superior power of *Agha Muhammed* until the beginning of 1793, when he was ultimately defeated, and being treacherously delivered up to his enemy by the people of

A.H. A.D.

Kirmân, he was put to death at *Tehrân*, in the year 1794, being then only twenty-five years of age.

29. *Aghâ Muhammed Khân Kâjâr* آغا محمد خان قاجار 1209 1794

An eunuch, the son of *Muhammed Hasan khân*. Having upon the death of *Kerîm khân* possessed himself of *Asterabâd*, in *Mazanderân*, he soon became master of the northern provinces of Persia, and in May 1785 expelled *Jàfar* from *Ispahân*. After defeating *Lutf Ali*, the valiant son of *Jàfar*, and putting him to death in 1794, he remained without a competitor. In 1795 Russia declared war against him, and in May 1797 he was assassinated by one of his attendants.

30. *Fat-ha Ali Shâh Kâjâr* فتح علي شاه قاجار 1211 1797

This monarch, now reigning, is the son of *Husein khân*, elder brother of *Agha Muhammed*, grandson of *Muhammed Hassan khân*, and great-grandson of *Fat-ha Ali khân*. He was familiarly called *Bâba khân* by his uncle, who appointed him governor of *Shîrâz*. Upon the death of the latter he immediately repaired to *Tehrân*, where he assumed the regal title, and having crushed some competitors for the crown, after a short struggle, has since governed the kingdom of Persia without a rival.

PERSIAN MONEY.

Previously to a statement of the names and value of the different species of coin in use throughout Persia, it should be understood that the imaginary money, or money of account, are the تومان *tomân* and the دينار *dinâr*; the former, as the name implies, being equal to 10,000 of the latter (which must not be confounded with the Arabian *dinâr*), and also to fifty current *abbasîs*, each weighing a *miskal* مثكال of seventy-two grains. The value of the *tomân*, in English money, about the period of *Nâdir Shâh's* reign, when Jonas Hanway resided in Persia, was £1. 17*s.* 6*d.*, but under the dynasty of the *Sûfîs* it appears to have been as high as two pounds.(1) In the present reign, however, an alteration has taken place, and

(1) "Ils comptent, says Chardin, par dinar bisty, et tomans (*qu.* dinar, bisty et tomans), quoi qu'ils n'ayent point de pièces de Monnoye ainsi appellées, et que ce ne soient que dénominations." T. II. p. 91. The same is observed by Tavernier, and also by Hanway, who says: "The toman,

and the denomination of *tomân* has been given to a gold coin weighing four dwt., and consequently in value about sixteen shillings of our money; reckoning gold at four pounds and silver at five shillings the ounce. By a fair analogy they might be termed *kajârîs*, from the name of the dynasty.

GOLD COINS.

These are denoted by the general term of طلا *tila*, signifying 'gold,' and also specifically by that of اشرفي *ashrafî* 'noble'. We are told by some of the old writers that they were not the usual currency of the country; but this may have reference only to particular periods; and the assertion that they were struck solely upon the accession of each sovereign, to be thrown among the people, will be disproved by the dates on specimens to be hereafter described.(2) The *ashrafî* weighs something more than fifty-three grains, and is consequently equal in that respect, if not in fineness, to the ducat of Venice or Holland. Its value may be about nine shillings English. There are also treble *ashrafîs* (by Hanway termed 'muhr-ashreffie') which weigh between 169 and 170 grains.

SILVER COINS.

The عباسي *abbâsi*, which it may be convenient to take as a standard for the other denominations, is equal to two *mahmûdîs* or four *shâhîs*, and to 200 nominal dinars. With respect to its weight and intrinsic value our authorities are discordant. Tavernier, who was in Persia about the year 1650, states it to be worth eighteen sous and a half, and Chardin who visited the country some years later, calls it eighteen sous; being only nine pence English money of the present time. Hanway, whose residence there was about the middle of the last century, tells us that the *abbâsi* weighed

toman, bistie, and denaer are imaginary, but the other denominations are real." Vol II. p. 20. I am the more precise in giving these authorities, from understanding it to be the idea formed by some modern travellers that the *tomân* should not be considered as a term of account, but as current money.

(2) Tavernier who states this, mentions, notwithstanding, in the next sentenee, that he once received ten thousand of them from one merchant.

weighed seventy-one grains, but that it was computed amongst the merchants as being equal in value to the fifth part of an English crown, or one shilling: an estimation, it must be observed, that is far from consistent; the value of that quantity of silver being a small fraction under nine pence. M. Bonneville, of the Paris mint, informs us (upon the authority, as it would seem, of the early travellers) that it is equivalent to eighteen sous, but adds that eight *mahmûdîs*, and consequently four *abbâsîs*, were equal to a Spanish dollar, as were sixteen of the one or eight of the other, to a Venetian sequin; which would make the *abbâsî* 1*s.* 1½*d.* or 1*s.* 2*d.* English. M. Olivier, an intelligent modern traveller, who estimates the *tomân* of fifty *abbâsîs* at sixty French livres, determines its value at 1⅕ livre, and therefore at about an English shilling. In an anonymous tract with the title of 'A modern universal Table of the state of the real and imaginary monies of the world', compiled with apparent care, and republished in 1769 (the original date not known), I find the *abbâsî* rated at 1*s.* 4*d.* This may probably be too high, and exceeds what is indicated by the coins themselves, if their several denominations are rightly distinguished in the collection; for the various pieces coined in the years 1684, 1700, and 1701, which have a claim to be considered as *abbasîs*, weigh from about 4 dwt. 17 gr. to 4 dw. 15 gr., and consequently are in value 1*s.* 2*d.* of our money.

What seems to have occasioned, in a great measure, this want of accurate information, is the deference that has been paid to the estimations of the travellers first mentioned (whose competency was unquestionable), without taking into consideration the material change that in the course of time the nominal value of the currency has undergone in France and every part of Europe. Upon examining a small assortment of French coins, I perceive that a xv. sous piece of Louis XIV. coined in 1644 and in some degree worn, weighs 101 gr. troy, and that a xxiv. sous piece of Louis XV. coined in 1786, weighs ninety-one such grains. The proportion therefore of the value of the sous at these two periods, is as the multiples of these numbers reciprocally, *viz.* as $101 \times 24 = 2424$ to $91 \times 15 = 1365$, or as about 12 to 7, and consequently eighteen sous of Tavernier's time should be equivalent to thirty-one sous, or 1*s.* 3½*d.* English, at the close of the eighteenth century. So also a v. sous piece of 1644 and a vi. sous

sous of 1766 weigh respectively 189 and 105 gr., being in nearly the same proportion.

There are also *abbâsîs* of five *shâhîs*, one of which in the collection, of an oval form, weighs 5 dw. 14¼ grs., pieces of double five *shâhîs* or two and a half simple *abbâsîs*, and lastly, pieces of five *abbâsîs* or 1,000 nominal dinars, said by Tavernier to be extremely rare. Of each of these latter there is one specimen, weighing respectively 11 dwt. 21 gr. and 1 oz. 3 dw. 15½ gr., or (the second being partially worn) at the rate of about 4 dw. 18 gr. for each *abbâsi*. A magnificent piece of 10 oz. 4 dw. 17 gr., which ought not to be considered as a current coin, will be noticed under the reign to which it belongs.

The محمودي *mahmûdî*, named also خدابندي *khodâbandi*[1], contains two *shâhîs*, and is equal (as its Turkish appellation of يارم عباسي *yârim abbâsi* imports) to half an *abbâsi*; as also to 100 nominal dinars.

The شاهي *shâhi* is equal to half a *mahmûdi* or quarter of an *abbâsi*, to ten pieces of a copper money called *kazbeki* or *kasbegi*, and to fifty nominal dinars. Its value is about 3½*d.* of English money. To the *shâhi*, as a standard, other denominations of silver coin are made to refer, in the Persian computation.

The بستي *bistî* is to the *shâhî* in the proportion of one to two and a half, or of five *bistîs* to two *shâhîs*. It is equal also to four *kasbegîs*, and to twenty nominal dinars, from whence it derives its name. Those in the collection weigh generally about 11 or 12 grains. In Tavernier's time this small coin had become rare, its place being supplied by a copper piece of the same value. Chardin says that anciently there was no Persian money current excepting the *bisti* and the *shâhi* of silver, but that in his time the bisti, as well as the dinar and the tomân, were denominations only, not coins.

As a peculiar species of silver money it remains to notice the لاري *lâri* or *lârin* as it is generally termed,[2] which takes its name from the southern province

(1) "Schach Abas *(Shâh Abbâs)*, qui les a fait battre le premier, leur a donné le nom *(d'abbâsi)*, comme Schach-Chodabende donne le sien, aux demi abas." Relation du Voy. d'Olearius (Paris 1656, 4to.) p. 388.

(2) "Larinus, monetæ Persicæ genus, ex argento." Meninski.

vince of *Lâr* (formerly independent), and is chiefly, if not exclusively, current on the coasts of the Gulf of Persia. Of this there is one specimen in the collection. It may be described as a piece of thick silver wire, something more than three inches in length, bent double, and then flattened to receive an imperfect and almost illegible imscription; in which form it always appears. The weight is 2 dw. 19 gr., and the value, consequently, about $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ of our money, or equal, as Chardin estimates them, to two and a half *shâhîs*. The description given of them by this intelligent traveller is more circumstantial than is to be found in any modern account of Persian coinage.(3)

COPPER MONEY.

The قزبگي *kasbegi* (named also پول *pûl*, and its multiples, فلوس *fels*) is a copper piece, valued at the fourth part of a *bisti* or five nominal dinars. Ten, consequently, are equal to a *shâhi*, twenty to a *mamûdi*, and forty to an *abbâsi*. From the specimens in the collection it appears that the average weight of the single *kasbegi* is 37 gr. troy, and its intrinsic value about half an English farthing.(1) There are also double, treble, and quadruple *kasbegîs* (the latter being termed *bisti*), of which a more particular account will be given, where the specimens of this money are the subject of description.

DXLIII.

(3) " Il y a une monnoye tout le long du Golphe Persique, nommée *Larins*, qui est celle dont on s'y sert le plus dans le commerce.....Cette monnoye est d'argent fin et vaut deux *chayé (shâhi)* et demi, qui font onze sols trois deniers de nôtre monnoye. Elle est d'une figure tout extraordinaire, car c'est un fil rond, gros comme une plume à écrire, plié à deux de la longueur d'un travers de pouce, avec une petite marque dessus qui est le coin du Prince.....On dit qu'elle avoit cours autrefois dans tout l'Orient." Voy. de Chardin en Perse &c. t. II. p. 92. (Amsterd. 1711, 4to.)

(1) Olearius observes that the pound weight of copper purchased by the king of Persia for one *abbâsi* was coined into sixty-four *kasbegi* pieces, forty of which passed in currency for that silver money. The seignorage was therefore sixty per cent.

DXLIII.

شاه صَفي *SHÂH SAFI,*

Eighth king of Persia of the Sûfi *race.*

I. شاه صفي (بنده‌شاه) ولايت (ضرب) اصفهان — SILVER, An. 1039-52.
Shâh Safi (servus regis) mundi. (Cuditur in) *Isfahân.*

II. *Shîàh* symbol, very imperfect. 2 dw. 11 gr.

Notwithstanding the imperfect state of the inscription on both sides of this small silver coin, the surface of which is inadequate to the die (apparently intended for a larger piece of money) it happens that the name of the king is distinct, and we cannot doubt of its being that of the grandson and successor of *Shâh Abbâs* I. and father of *Shâh Abbâs* II., who reigned from 1039–1629 to 1052–1642. Its weight shews it to be a *mahmûdi,* although heavier by two or three grains than others of the same denomination that will be noticed hereafter.

Of the date there is no trace visible. The name of the capital is written according to the Arabic, and not the Persian orthography, which would be اصپهان *Ispahân.* The opportunity of a more complete specimen will be taken to explain the singular phrase of 'servus regis mundi.'

DXLIV.

عباس ثاني *ABBAS* II.

I. AREA. بگيتي آنكه اكنون سكه زد صاحب قراني — SILVER, An. 1052-77.
از توفيق خدا كلب علي عباس زنام ثاني

Ille qui nunc cudit monetam universalem (in mundo), per gratiam Dei, Abbas nominis secundus, dominus conjunctionis, canis (est antistitis) *Ali*.....

SILVER, An. 1052-77.

II. AREA. لا اله الا الله محمّد رسول الله علي ولي الله

Non (est) deus nisi Deus. Muhammed (est) legatus Dei, Ali dilectus Dei.

MARGIN. ..... والسبطين والسجاد والباقر والصادق
والكاظم والرضا والبقا والا.... والمهدي

.....et ingenui *(Hasan* et *Husein* fratres); et adorator *(Ali ben Husein, zîn al-abedîn?);* et affluens *(Muhammed ben Zîn al-abedîn);* et verax *(Jàfar ben Muhammed al-bakir);* et iram cohibens *(Mûsa ben Jàfar as-sâdik);* et permissus sc. Deo *(Ali Riza s. Ridha ben Mûsa al-kazim);* et incorruptabilis *(Muhammed (Abu Jàfar) al-jawâd, ben Ali Riza?);*.....et director *(Muhammed Mahdi ben Hasan al-askari).* 1 oz. 3 dw. 15½ gr.

It is to be regretted that this specimen of a five-*abbâsi* piece, coined by one of the most distinguished of the modern sovereigns of Persia, is not in more perfect condition, and particularly that it should fail in the date and place of coinage, which seem to have been intentionally obliterated.

The adherence of these princes of the *Sûfi* race to the tenets of their schismatic faith is strongly shewn in the inscriptions on their money. The style of the legend on the piece is uncommon; but the exaggerated expression of attachment and subserviency to *Ali*, must not be understood as applied to the head of their faith, the son-in-law of the prophet, but to another personage of the name, one of their *imâms* or spiritual leaders, the sanctity of whose character will hereafter be more particularly noticed. The names of these twelve *imâms*, whom the *Shiàhs* consider as the rightful heirs of the khalifat, are as commonly found upon the Persian money, as those of the four actual successors are upon the money of the *sunnis* or orthodox party. Here, however, the marginal inscription does not express the names, but denotes them by certain epithets or qualities by which their followers were accustomed to distinguish them. Unfortunately the commencement is defaced, and the first word clearly distinguishable (الولي dilectus being faintly seen) is that which denotes the two sons of *Ali*, or the second and third of the *imâms*. For the term of 'adorator' applied to the fourth I am not aware of any other authority.(1) The epithets

(1) The names and epithets of the twelve persons on whom the title of *imâm*, par excellence, is bestowed, are to be found in the Bibliothèque Orientale, under that word, and also in the 'Voyages de Chardin,' t. II. p. 339, 4to. The former is not so full as might be wished; the latter is incorrect in some of the terms.

epithets belonging to the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth are not attended with any uncertainty; but the ninth, to whom the quality of بقا 'æternus s. incorruptabilis' is here attributed, is in common distinguished by that of الجواد 'liberalis.' The next words, which should be the epithets of *Ali askarî* the son of *Riza*, and of *Hasan askarî* the son of *Ali askarî* (but for which the space seems too confined) are not legible. Respecting the twelfth and last, who is supposed to be concealed from mankind, and expected to make his reappearance at the end of the world, much has been written. SILVER, An. 1052-77.

DXLV.—DXLVII.

سليمان بن شاه عباس *SOLEIMÂN BEN SHAH ABBAS.*

Tenth king of the Sûfi race.

I. AREA. سليمان بنده شاه ولايت SILVER, An. 1096.
ضرب نخجوان ١٠٩٦

Soleimân servus regis mundi (sc. *Alí Rizâ*). Cuditur in *Nakhjiwân* 1096 (1684).

II. AREA. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei; Ali amicus s. dilectus Dei. (*Shiàh symbol*).

MARGIN. علي حسن حسين علي محمد جعفر موسي
علي محمد علي حسن محمد

Ali, Hasan, Husein, Ali, Muhammed, Jàfar, Mûsa, Ali, Muhammed, Ali, Hasan, Muhammed (Mahdî). 4 dw. 17¼ gr.

Soleimân, the tenth on the list of Persian kings commencing with *Ismâil as-Sûfi*, is the monarch whose coronation, in the year 1077–1666, was the subject of the first work published by the celebrated traveller, Sir John

SILVER, An. 1096. Chardin.(1) Of his coinage this is the earliest specimen in the collection, as the latest is of 1104. He died in the year 1106.

The personage designated in the inscription by the title of 'rex mundi,' and elsewhere by that of 'dominus seculi,' whose slave the king humbly professes himself to be, is علي رضا *Ali Rizâ* or *Ridhâ* (according to the Persian or Arabic pronunciation), the eighth of the twelve *imâms*, who was revered for the sanctity of his life, and whose tomb at the city of *Meshhed* is the object of pilgrimage with the *Shîàh* sect.

Nakhjiwân, where the coin was struck, is an ancient city of Armenia, on the borders of Persia, not far from *Irwân* or Erivan. Its weight denotes it to be an *abbâsi*, in value about one shilling and two pence of our money. The character of the inscriptions is the *niskhi* or modern Arabic, as that of Area I. of the piece last described, is the *talik*, which prevailed in the Persian writings.

DXLVIII.

سليمان *SOLEIMÂN.*

SILVER, An. 1103.

I. AREA. As in the preceding. ضرب كنجه ١١٠٣
Cuditur in *Kanjah* s. *Ganjah* 1103 (1691).

II. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol.

MARGIN. Names of the *imâms*, imperfect. 4 dw. 18½ gr.

This *abbâsi*, of fuller weight than that of 1096, presents nothing particular. The place of coinage is a city of Georgia, in the vicinity of the river *Kûr*.

DXLIX.—

(1) " Le Couronnement de Soleïman troisième, Roy de Perse, &c." Paris 1671, 8vo.

DXLIX.—DLII.

سليمان *SOLEIMÂN.*

I. AREA. As in the preceding, but nearly illegible from double striking. ضرب اصفهان سنه ۱۱۰۴ Cuditur in *Isfahân* 1104 (1692). SILVER, An. 1104.

MARGIN. سكّه مهر علي را زدم بر نقد (ايران)
گشت از فضل خدا محكوم فرمانم جهان

Typum sigilli Ali cudebam nummis (regni *Irân*). Per gratiam Dei, me imperante, regitur mundus.

II. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol.

MARGIN. Names of the twelve *imâms*. 11 dw. 21 gr.

The execution of the dies from which this rare half-five-*abbâsi* or double-five-*shâhi* piece was struck had considerable merit, but the impression on one side is imperfect. The marginal sentence, however, is nearly complete, and the phrases are peculiar. The names of the twelve *imâms*, beginning with *Ali* and ending with *Muhammed (Mahdî)*, are remarkably distinct.

Of this king there are also the following smaller coins: *mahmûdîs* or half-*abbâsîs*, of 1097, weighing 2 dw. 8½ gr.; *shâhîs* of 1099, weighing 1 dw. 4½ gr.; and a half-*shâhi*, of the same year, weighing only 11½ gr.

DLIII.

سلطان حسين بن سليمان *SULTAN HUSEIN BEN SOLEIMÂN,*

Eleventh king.

I. AREA. سلطان حسين بنده شاه ولايت
حسام الدين ضرب تبريز ۱۱۰۶ SILVER, An. 1106.

Sultanus *Husein*, servus regis mundi, gladius fidei. Cuditur in *Tabrîz* 1106 (1694).

II. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol. 3 dw. 6¼ gr.

This

SILVER, An. 1106. This neat silver piece of three *shâhîs*, of a form approaching to oval, was coined by *Husein* in the first year of his reign (if the reading of the date be correct) and probably on the occasion of his accession. The symbol is in the *niskhi*, and the name and titles of the prince in the *talik* or modern Persian character. *Tabrîz*, *Tauris*, or *Tavris*, where the coin was struck, is the capital of the province of *Adherbijân*, but the court of *Husein* was established at *Ispahân*, in Persian *Irak*.

Although in the date the point or cipher, which should stand in the place of the decimals, is not perceptible, there can be little doubt of the number meant to be expressed. The phrase of 'gladius fidei' is peculiar to this coin, amongst those of the *Sûfî* race. That of 'gladius Messiæ' has been noticed on Georgian coins of the same century.

DLIV.

حسين *HUSEIN.*

SILVER, An. 1112.

I. AREA. از توفيق ربّ المشرفين &c. ۱۱۱۲

Per gratiam Dei nobilium (fidelium) &c. 1112 (1700).

II. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol.

MARGIN. .... موسي علي محمد علي حسن ....

..... *Mûsa. Ali. Muhammed. Ali. Hasan* .... 4 dw. 16½ gr.

In addition to the symbol of the sect of *Ali*, this *abbâsi* of *Husein* contained the names of the twelve *imâms*, but they are in part obliterated.

DLV.

حسين *HUSEIN.*

SILVER, An. 1113.

I. AREA. از توفيق زبّ المشرّفين
نسب صاحب سكه درجهان
كلب امير المومنين
سلطان حسيرن ضرب اصفهان ١١١٣

Per gratiam Dei nobilium (existit) stirps domini monetæ universalis, sultani *Husein*, canis (servi) imperatoris Fideliuṁ. Cuditur in *Isfahân*, 1113 (1701).

II. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol.

MARGIN. علي حسن حسين علي محمد جعفر
موسي علي محمد علي حسن محمد

Ali . Hasan . Husein . Ali . Muhammed . Jàfar . Mûsa . Ali . Muhammed. Ali . Hasan . Muhammed. 4 dw. 15 gr.

In its general appearance this *abbâsi* differs from the usual currency, being broader and thinner, and also of less weight than the preceding, and may perhaps have been one of those complimentary pieces which the sovereigns were in the practice of distributing on ceremonial occasions. The terms of its peculiar inscription, although quaint, are not ambiguous; but the sentence appearing to require a verb, to make the construction perfect, the word 'existit' has been supplied. By 'imperator fidelium' is here to be understood the *imâm Ali Riza*, the most revered of those whom the Persians consider as the legitimate successors of the Prophet, before whom their kings affected to humble themselves, by such servile expressions as their subjects were in the habit of applying to the sovereign.

DLVI.

DLVI.

حسين *HUSEIN.*

SILVER, (large), An. 1121

I. AREA. بنده شاه ولايت حسين
ضرب اصفهان ١١٢١

Servus regis mundi, *Husein.* Cuditur in *Isfahân* 1121 (1709).

II. AREA. لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei; Ali dilectus Dei. 10 oz. 4 dw. 17 gr.

This splendid ornament of the Collection must, from its extraordinary weight and size, be considered rather as a medal than a coin, although the inscriptions on both sides are the same as we find them on the ordinary currency. The object in striking pieces of such a description we can have no doubt was that of presentation by the monarch to distinguished personages (with as much propriety at least as our snuff-boxes), and this royal gift may have been brought to Europe by some ambassador from our court to that of Persia, in the beginning of the last century. Of its actual history I am quite ignorant, further than my having purchased it, with several other oriental coins, of Mr. M. Trattle, in the year 1808. So far as I am aware it is unique. The coin or medal described by Adler, (Mus. Cuf. Borg. p. 92. Tab. VIII.) but of which he has omitted to mention the weight, cannot be supposed to stand in any comparison with this, being, as he says, one of those intended to be scattered amongst the people, and afterwards worn in the bosom; which is not at all applicable to a piece weighing between ten and eleven ounces. It has, however, been much exceeded in India, where, during the magnificent reign of *Aurungzêb*, gold medals of a still larger size were conferred in like manner, and some of them have found their way to European cabinets.

In the Plate it has been judged sufficient to give an engraving of that side only which contains the king's title; omitting the formulary sentence of the Reverse.

DLVII.—DLVIII.

حسين *HUSEIN.*

I. AREA.	As in the preceding. 112(5) 1713.	SILVER, An. 122(5).
II. AREA.	*Shîàh* symbol. 2 dw. 9 gr. $11\frac{3}{4}$ gr.	

In its proportion of thickness to the surface, this *mahmûdi* differs from most other coins of the Persian mints, and resembles a treble fanam of the Peninsula of India. Another small silver coin of the same form, and with the same inscription, so far as the space admitted, but only a fifth part of the weight, has, in like manner, the appearance of a single fanam.

DLIX.

حسين *HUSEIN.*

I. AREA.	As in the preceding. 1127 (1715).	SILVER, An. 1127.
II. AREA.	*Shîàh* symbol. 2 dw. $6\frac{1}{4}$ gr.	

This *mahmûdi*, of an oval shape, resembling that of the year 1106, is of remarkably neat workmanship and in complete preservation.

DLX.

حسين *HUSEIN.*

I. AREA.	As in the preceding. ۱۱۲۹ ضرب تبريز Cuditur in *Tabrîz* 1129 (1717).	SILVER, An. 1129.

SILVER, An. 1129. MARGIN. ..... خلد الله ملكه و سلط ....

..... Conservet Deus regnum ejus.

II. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol.

MARGIN. Names of the twelve *imâms*. 5 dw. 14¼ gr. 5 dw. 14¾ gr.

The shape of this handsome coin also is a modified oval, and the characters of the inscription are disposed with good taste; but from defect of space the marginal sentence of I. is mostly illegible. Its weight shews it to be what is denominated an *abbâsi* of five *shâhîs*.

DLXI.—DLXX.

The following *abbâsîs* and other smaller coins of the same king, differing in nothing materially from those already described, require only to be enumerated. They are from the mints respectively of

			dw.	gr.
قزوين	*Kazwîn* or Kasbin, ...	an. 1130 ...	3	10½
	Do. with names of twelve *imâms*	1131 ...	3	7
تبريز	*Tabrîz* or Tauris.....	1131 ...	3	10¾
تفليس	*Teflis*	1131 ...	3	9
	Do. (*shâhi?*)	1131 ...	0	20½
ايروان	*Irwân* or Erivan	1132 ...	3	11
اصفهان	*Isfahân* or Ispahan	1133 ...	2	21½
نخجوان	*Nakhjiwân*	1133 ...	3	10½
تبريز	*Tabrîz* (*shâhi*).....	1133 ...	1	3
تفليس	*Teflis*	1134 ...	3	10½
تبريز	*Tabrîz* (three specimens)	1134 ...	3	11

These are the latest specimens of the coinage of the unfortunate *Shâh Hußein*, who in the year 1135 (1722–23) was compelled, by *Mahmûd* the *Afghân*, to abandon his throne and capital.

DLXXI.

DLXXI.—DLXXIII.

شاه طهماسپ ثاني بن حسين *SHÂH TAHMÂSP II. BEN HUSEIN.*

I. AREA. بگيتي زد سكه صاحب قراني
از توفيق حق طهماسپ ثاني
ضرب تبريز ۱۱۳۴

SILVER, An. 1134.

Tahmasp secundus, dominus conjunctionis, monetam cudi fecit in mundo (universalem) per gratiam divinam. Cuditur in *Tabrîz* 1134 (1721-2).

II. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol.

MARGIN. Names of the twelve *imâms*. 3 dw. 10½ gr. 1 dw. 3 gr. (1135) 19½ gr.

The circumstances under which this *abbâsi* and another smaller coin were struck by *Tahmâsp*, at *Tabrîz*, in the year 1134, are particular, and their date, at first view, seems to be inconsistent with history, inasmuch as, in the same year, his father coined money at *Ispahân*, and it was not until the year 1142 (1730) that he was set up as a pageant king by the famous *Nâdir Kûli*. But it will be found that when *Shâh Husein* was besieged in his capital by the *Afghân* forces, he directed his fourth son, *Tahmâsp mirza*, whom he constituted his heir, to save himself by flight. This the latter effected in June 1722, and upon hearing of his father's subsequent abdication, he assumed (as we are told by cotemporary writers) the regal title. From the evidence of these specimens, however, it is clear that he proceeded to coin in his own name without waiting for that event, which did not take place until the month of October in the same year, or first month of 1135 of the *hejrah*.

Tabrîz, according to the information of Jonas Hanway,(1) was the city

 where

(1) "In the mean time, he says, *Shah Tæhmas* continued at Tauris, contriving means to recover his dominions; but gave no demonstration of a capacity equal to the part he had to act." Revolution of Persia, p. 168.

SILVER, An. 1134. where he set up his standard, and endeavoured, though ineffectually, to collect a force that might enable him to contend with *Mahmûd*. In subsequent years, also, he coined money at the same place, as appears by a *shâhi* of $19\frac{1}{2}$ gr. having the date of 1135, and by coins of 1136 that will be hereafter noticed.

DLXXIV.

شاه محمود *SHAH MAHMÛD.*

SILVER, An. 1135.

I. AREA. سکه زد از مشرق ایران چو قرص افتاب
شاه محمود جهانگیر شاه انساب ضرب اصفهان

Shâh Mahmûd stirpis *Jehângîr Shâh* cudi fecit hanc monetam tanquàm solis orbem ab oriente *Irân* (Persiæ). Cuditur in *Isfahân*.

II. AREA. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ١١٣٥

Non est deus nisi Deus; Muhammed est legatus Dei. 1135 (1722-3). 2 dw. 22 gr.

At the same period in which *Tahmâsp*, as we have seen, was coining money at *Tabrîz*, the *Afghân* conqueror was exercising a similar right of sovereignty at *Ispahân*. This *abbâsi*, bearing the name of *Mahmûd*, was struck in 1135, the year of his mounting the throne of the *Sûfîs*, and in its inscription we perceive a change of religious faith; the creed of the *Shîâhs* and the names of their twelve revered *imâms* being made to give place to the third symbol of the orthodox mussulmâns, to whose tenets his countrymen adhered. In weight the piece is about one sixth part lighter than the *abbâsîs* of his predecessors.

Respecting the construction of the words that compose the metrical sentence I do not feel confident, and particularly as to the application of مشرق 'oriens, ab oriente,' which may be thought to allude to the eastern situation of *Afghanistân* with regard to *Irân* or Persia. In a comparison of

of money to the sun's orb, which is so commonly to be found on Persian and Indian coinage, the mention of its place in the heavens, to the east or west, would give no additional strength to the image. Another difficulty arises from the name of *Jehângîr*, which does not appear from history to have been borne either by his father, *Mîr Vais*, or by any other of the *Afghân* tribe of *Gilji*, to which he belonged. SILVER, An. 1135.

DLXXV.—DLXXXIV.

طهماسپ ثاني *TAHMASP II.*

I. AREA. As in coin of 1134. ضرب تبريز GOLD, An. 1136.
Cuditur in *Tabrîz* 1136 (1723-4).

II. AREA. *Shâh* symbol.

MARGIN. Names of the twelve *imâms*. 2 dw. 5. gr.

This gold coin, the first that occurs in the Persian money of the collection, contains precisely the same inscription as the preceding *abbâsi* of the same prince, who at this period was vainly struggling to maintain the crown he had recently assumed. Its date serves to contradict the common assertion, that it was the practice of the kings of Persia to coin gold on the occasion of their accession only.

Jonas Hanway states the weight of the *ashrafi* or 'old ducat' to be 18 parts in 24 of the *miscal* of 71 gr., or $53\frac{1}{4}$ gr., being the actual weight of this specimen.

Of this prince there are also the following *abbâsîs* and other silver pieces, coined in the northern cities of the Persian dominions, whilst *Ispahân*, *Shirâz*, and the southern parts generally, were under the rule of *Mahmûd* and his successor *Ashraf*, until the year 1142–1729: *viz.*

Of 1136 (duplicates) with the same legends as the preceding, and coined likewise at *Tabrîz*, weighing 3 dw. $10\frac{1}{2}$ gr.; of 1138, in *Mazanderân*

GOLD, An. 1136. *derán* (probably at فراحاباد *Feráh-abád*, which was then the capital of the province),[1] 3 dw. 11 gr.; of 1139 at رشت *Resht*, a city in the province of گیلان *Gílán*, 2 dw. 20¼ gr. (perhaps a half five *shâhi* piece); of the same year, at لاهجان *Lahjân*, a small city of the same province, 1 dw. 19 gr. a two *shâhi* piece; of 1141, in *Mazanderân*, 3 dw. 10 gr.; of 1142, in the same province, 3 dw. 10¾ gr.; of the same date, at *Isfahân*, after the destruction of the *Afghân* power by *Nâdir*, 3 dw. 11 gr.; of 1143, at *Tabríz*, 1 dw. 2 gr.; and lastly, an *abbâsi* without date and much worn, struck at مشهد مقدس *Meshhed* the holy, a city of *Khorasân* held sacred (as has been remarked) on account of its containing the tomb of *Ali Riza*.[2] Its coinage could not have taken place before the year 1141, in which this city was wrested from the *Afghâns* and restored to the dominion of *Tahmâsp*, who, in 1145–1732, was deprived of his crown by *Nâdir*, his too powerful servant. It should be noticed that on the *abbâsi* of 1139 we may perceive the number 5, and on that of 1142, the number 8, evidently denoting the years of his imperfect reign.

DLXXXV.

سلطان نادر *SULTÂN NÁDIR.*

SILVER, An. 1148-9.

I. AREA.

سکه برزر کرد نام سلطنت درجهان
نادر ایران زمین وخسرو گیتي ستان
ضرب اصفهان ۱۱۴۹

Signum pecuniæ impressum promulgavit per orbem regnum *Nadir* (phœnicis, prodigii) terræ Persicæ, *Khusru* (herois), mundi expugnatoris. Cuditur in *Isfahân* 1149.

II. AREA.

(1) "The Suffavean prince, Tàmâsp, (says Malcolm) was in Mazenderan, supported by the Kujurs of Asterabad ..... He had fixed his small court (1139) at *Ferráhábád*, where he was joined by Nàdir Kooli." Hist. of Persia, vol. II. p. 33.

(2) "It had long been observed as a duty by the kings of Persia (says Hanway), to make a pilgrimage once in their life-time to this tomb, as the Turks do to Mecca and Medina." Revolutions of Persia, vol. II. p. 20.

II. AREA. الخير فيما وقع تاريخ جلوس ميمنت مانوس ١١٤٨ SILVER, An. 1148-1149

'Optimum est quod accidit.' (Quibus verbis designatur) Epocha inaugurationis felicis, 1148. 3 dw. $10\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

This perfect specimen of the *abbâsi* is remarkable for the occasion on which it was struck, being that of the usurped occupation of the throne by *Nâdir shâh*, who upon hearing of the death of the infant son of *Tahmâsp* (the father being still living) called an assemblage of the 'governors of provinces, elders, great officers of state, together with the officers of his army,' and required them to proceed to the election of a king. Their choice, as might be expected, fell upon himself, commanding, as he did, one hundred thousand veteran troops encamped on the spot.(1)

The words with which the inscription on the Reverse commences were selected for the purpose of forming a chronogram that should express the year 1148, in the latter part of which the ceremony of inauguration took place; and accordingly we shall find that by adding together the numbers corresponding to each letter, in the *abjed, viz.*

ا ل خ ي ر ف ي م ا و ق ع
70, 100, 6, 1, 40, 10, 80, 200, 10, 600, 30, 1,

the above date will be produced.(2) To account for the difference of date on the opposite sides of the money, we may suppose the coinage not to have been in readiness for so sudden an occasion, but to have been executed in the early part of the following year, 1149; preserving at the same

(1) "The young prince *Abas* (Hanway observes) was of a complexion extremely delicate ... Whether his death was intirely in the course of nature is not declared." Revolutions of Persia, vol. II. p. 123.

(2) According to the same intelligent traveller the proclamation was made on the 11th of March 1736, answering to the tenth month of the year 1148 of the *hejrah*. The year 1149 began on the 1st of May. It is to be observed, however, that Sir William Jones, on the authority of *Mirza Mahadi*, whose work he translated, states that the coronation was celebrated on the 26th of Feb.; but as he adds that the letters of the sentence on the coin compose the number 1149, which is obviously a mistake, and if correct, would be inconsistent with the date assigned by him to the coronation, we must prefer the evidence of Hanway, who visited Persia not long after the time.

Silver, An. 1148-1149

same time a memorial of the late important event; or, one only of the dies may have been renewed.

The name of *Nâdir*, signifying 'rare,' 'admirable,' and its formative *nâdirat* 'the phœnix,' furnished the poets and other panegyrists with abundant subject of fanciful allusion.

DLXXXVI.—DLXXXIX.

سلطان نادر *SULTÂN NÂDIR.*

Silver, An. 1150.

I. Area. *Sultân Nâdir.* السلطان نادر

II. Area. خلد الله ملكه ضرب قندهار ١١٥٠

Conservet Deus regnum ejus. Cuditur in *Kandahâr* 1150 (1737).

14 dw. 16 gr. 4 dw. 8½ gr. 4 dw. 11 gr. 4 dw. 9 gr.

Upon the elevation of *Nâdir* to the throne of Persia his first military object was the reduction of *Kandahâr*, at that time possessed by *Husein Khân*, the brother of *Mahmûd* the *Afghân*; and this he effected after experiencing an obstinate resistance, in the last month of the year 1150; which date, with the name of the city, appears on the coins that proudly attest his conquest.(1)

The first specimen here described is of the weight of four *abbâsîs*. Another, having precisely the same inscriptions, but executed in a style of superior elegance, is a piece of five *shâhîs*. The greater proportion of *Nâdir's* coins are remarkable for the simplicity of their legends, although on some occasions his vanity was indulged, and they may (with few exceptions) be distinguished from those of other Persian princes by the

(1) It was taken by storm on the 13th March 1738. The year 1151 commenced on the 10th April following. This is the more particularly noticed because a work of high authority places the reduction in the year 1151 of the *hejrah*, which would be at variance with the coinage.

the peculiarity of having the inscription on one side inclosed in a circle much smaller than the circumference of the piece. SILVER, AN. 1150

Of the same year and in the same handsome style of workmanship, there is a five-*shâhi*-piece coined at مشهد *Meshhed.* The omission of its usual epithet of مقدس sancta, to this name might justify the conjecture of the omission being connected with *Nâdir's* decree, issued in 1149, for abolishing the distinctive symbols of the *shîdh* sect, by whom this place was held sacred, were it not that we find the word restored upon the coinage of 1153. A fourth coin of the year 1150, and of the same denomination as the two preceding, is much inferior to them in execution and state of preservation, the date being scarcely legible. It is from the mint of تبريز *Tabrîz.*

DXC.—DXCI.

نادر *NÂDIR.*

I. AREA. *Sultân Nâdir.* السلطان نادر SILVER, AN. 1151.

II. AREA. ضرب گنجه ١١٥١

Cuditur in *Kanjah* s. *Ganjah* 1151 (1738). 2 dw. 22 gr. 18 gr.

From the defective weight of this coin we might be led to suppose it a piece of three, instead of an *abbâsi* of four *shâhîs,* but the proportional diminution in the weight of the single *shâhi,* proves it to be an *abbâsi* on a depreciated scale, being lighter by thirteen grains than those of the coinage of *Husein.*

A *shâhi* of 1152, from the mint of *Teflis,* the capital of Georgia, in perfect preservation, weighs only eighteen grains, and in 1154 they will be found still lighter. The inscriptions on these are the same as on the larger money.

DXCII.

ابو الفيض بن محمد *ABU'L FEIDH* s. *FEIZ BEN MUHAMMED.*

GOLD, AN.(1152)

I. AREA. ابو الفيض (بن) محمد بهادر خان سيد

Abu'l Feidh s. *Feiz* (*ben*) *Muhammed Bahâdar khân Seiyed.*

II. AREA. Third symbol. 2 dw. $23\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

This gold coin, of very inferior workmanship, belongs to one of the *Usbeg* princes of *Mawaralnahr* or Transoxiana, whose seat of government was بخارا *Bokhâra*, and not being Persian, has no claim to a place in this series; but some pretence for the arrangement is afforded by the circumstance of *Nâdir Shâh* having invaded the territory of *Abu'l Feidh*, on returning from his Indian expedition in 1153-1740,(1) and after receiving the submission of the *khân*, having restored to him his crown, and conferred on him the title of *shâh*; by which he became a vassal of the empire. No date can be discovered on the coin; but, as his new title does not appear in the inscription, we must consider it as having been struck before the time of *Nâdir's* expedition. A similar specimen, described and engraved by T. C. Tychsen, is equally without date. M. Bonneville, however, in his 'Traité des Monnaies, &c.' describing a coin of the same prince, assigns to it the date of 1127–1715, which seems an improbable extension of the reign.(2) With respect to his introduction of the word بن *ben*, though there is certainly no trace of it upon my specimen nor that

(1) In 1740 according to Sir W. Jones's Persian anthor; but Hanway says, in October 1739. The former is certainly right. *Nâdir* did not commence his march from Dehli till May 1739, and independently of the actual distance, he experienced many delays. On the 26th May 1740 he returned to *Herat*, crossed the Oxus in the latter part of the month of August, and settled the affair of *Bokhâra* about the beginning of September in that year.

(2) He reads: "Abou'lfaiz, fils du scheïck illustre et digne d'être exalté, Mohammed Béhadur khan Seïd 1127 (1715);" and adds: "Cette monnaie n'est point proprement de Perse: elle appartient à un prince tartare de Bokhara. Abou'lfaïz fut vaincu en 1736 (1740) par Nadir Schah. Son père Mohammed Béhadur khan avoit envoyé en 1714 un ambassade à Pierre-le-Grand." P. 220.

that of the Göttingen Academy, I do not scruple to adopt it and the consequent disposition of the names: but to Professor Fraehn we must look for the correct genealogy of this obscure dynasty, which De Guignes (from Abu'lghazi) brings down no lower than the year 1646. GOLD, An. (1152)

Jonas Hanway states the weight of the *Bokhâra ashrafi* to be to the Persian in the proportion of four to three; which is justified by comparing this of 72, with the latter of about 54 grs.

DXCIII.—DXCVIII.

نادر *NÂDIR.*

I. AREA. هست سلطان بر سلاطین جهان
شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران SILVER, An. 1153.

Est sultanus sultanorum mundi, rex regum, *Nadir*, dominus conjunctionis.

II. AREA. ضرب مشهد مقدس ١١٥٣
Cuditur in *Meshhed* sancta 1153 (1740). 7 dw. 9¼ gr.

I. AREA. As in the preceding.

II. AREA. ضرب دار السلطنة تبریز ١١٥٣
Cuditur in sede regia *Tabrîz* 1153. 7 dw. 9½ gr.

II. AREA. ضرب مشهد مقدس ١١٥٤
Cuditur in *Meshhed* sancta 1154 (1741). 7 dw. 10½ gr.

II. AREA. ضرب دار السلطنة تبریز ١١٥٤
Cuditur in sede regia *Tabrîz* 1154. 7 dw. 8 gr.

II. AREA. Cuditur in sede regia *Tabrîz* 1154. 17½ gr.

II. AREA. ضرب کنجه ١١٥٤
Cuditur in *Kanjah* s. *Ganjah* 1154. 17 gr.

SILVER, An. 1153. In the beginning of the year 1152–1739 *Nâdir* effected the conquest of *Delhi*, after gaining the battle of *Karnal* in the last month of the preceding year. In 1153 (May 1740) he returned, by *Kandahâr*, to the city of *Herat* in *Khorasân*, where he celebrated his triumphs and made a display of his immense Indian spoils. On this occasion it was that he ordered coins to be struck in different parts of his empire, upon which, instead of the brief and modest inscriptions that have just been described, we find the assumption of pompous titles, expressed in a metrical distich in the *tâlîk* character, resembling the style, though not the words, of those which appeared at his coronation. The epithet of Lord of the Ascendant or of the planetary Conjunctions, was first adopted by *Timur*, in imitation of whom it was employed by the Moghul emperors of Hindustan, and also by *Nâdir Shâh*.

The four larger of these six coins are pieces of ten *shâhîs* or double five-*shâhi*-pieces, equal to two *abbâsîs* and a half, or five hundred nominal dinars. Their weight is the same as that of the *rupîhs* of *Muhammed Shâh*, the conquered emperor of Hindustan, struck at the same period, and are evidently designed to be what is termed the *sikkah* weight of that country, or 7 dw. 11½ gr., although the heaviest of them is a grain lighter. According to Hanway they bore the denomination of *Nadirîs*.

The two smaller coins are single *shâhîs*. The neatness of the workmanship of that from the mint of *Tabrîz*, weighing 17½ gr., is deserving of notice.

DXCIX.

نادر *NÂDIR.*

GOLD, An. 1158. I. AREA. هست سلطان بر سلاطین جهان
شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران

Est sultanus sultanorum mundi, rex regum, *Nâdir*, dominus conjunctionis.

II. AREA.

II. Area. ضرب دار السلطنة اصفهان ١١٥٨ — Gold, An. 1158.

Cuditur in sede imperii *Isfahán* 1158 (1745). 7 dw. 1½ gr.

The inscription on this handsome *muhr-ashrafi* differs only in place and date from that on the silver coins struck by *Nâdir* at *Meshhed* and *Tabrîz*, in 1153 (1740), upon his return from the conquest of *Dehli*.

DC.—DCI.

نادر *NADIR.*

I. Area. As in the preceding silver. — Silver, An. 1159.

II. Area. ضرب دار السلطنة تبريز ١١٥٩

Cuditur in sede regia *Tabrîz*, 1159 (1746). 7 dwr. 10½ gr.

On this double five-*shâhi*-piece, or *Nâdiri*, with full inscriptions, there appears a countermark expressing the word جاوه *Jáwa*, which it may have received at Batavia, in order to render *Nâdir's* money current in the Dutch settlements in the island of *Java*. A duplicate specimen is without that mark.

A *shâhi* of the year 1160, struck likewise at *Tabrîz* and weighing 17¼ gr., closes the series of money coined by this extraordinary man. In the sixth month of the year 1160 (8th June 1747), in the sixtieth year of his age, he fell by the hands of assassins.

DCII.

اسمعيل بن سيد مصطفي *ISMÀÎL BEN SEYED MUSTAFA*, UNDER THE PROTECTION OF *KERÎM KHÂN*.

GOLD, An. 1167.

I. AREA. تا زر و سيم در جهان باشد
سكه صاحب الزمان باشد

Quamdiu aurum et argentum in mundo erunt, tamdiu supersit moneta domini seculi!

II. AREA. ضرب دار السلطنة اصفهان ١١٦٧

Cuditur in sede regia *Isfahân* 1167 (1753-4). 7 dw. 1 gr. 7 dw. 2 gr.

We have here a handsome gold coin, with ample inscriptions, which do not, however, contain the name of the prince by whom it was struck, but, in the place of it, present an affected allusion to the spiritual sovereignty of the *imâm Ali Rizâ*. This peculiarity will be found to arise from the political circumstances of the times, when a sort of interregnum existed. The effective dominion of the country was held by one or other of three or four contending chiefs, who, instead of assuming the kingly title, as they had the power, contented themselves with upholding, successively, a pageant of the name of *Ismâîl*, who was suffered to reside in *Ispahân* with a semblance of royalty, but was too insignificant to justify the coinage of money in his name. He was first set up by *Ali Merdan* in 1163–1750, and was finally removed to a place of confinement by *Kerîm khân* in 1176–1672.(1)

In the year 1167, which date the coin bears,(2) *Ispahân* was under the temporary

(1) "Peu de tems après il envoya Ismaïl à Abada forteresse située entre Ispahan et Chiras, avec ordre au commandant de le servir et honorer comme roi, et de le faire garder comme un prisonnier dont il répondait sur sa tête." Olivier, Voy. en Perse, p. 326. "He deemed it prudent to confine the pageant to whom *Aly Murdân Khan* had given the name of king." Malcolm, Hist. of Persia, vol. II. p. 140.

(2) *Mirza Abu Talib*, who, when in England, obligingly wrote down for me this metrical inscription, mistook the figures for 1107.

temporary sway of *Kerîm khân*,(3) who there found a remnant of the treasure amassed by *Ali Merdan*, which he employed in the payment of his army; and, as the date proves that there must have been a recoinage of the metals, it is fair to presume that these gold pieces were struck by the authority of that celebrated chief, who afterwards became the established ruler of Persia. The die was probably an imitation of that which the policy of his predecessor had led him to adopt. In weight and appearance it is evidently designed to represent the gold *rupîh* or مهر *muhr* of Hindustan, and is accordingly termed by Jonas Hanway the *muhr-ashrafi*, although there is no definite proportion between it, weighing 170 gr., and the single *ashrâfî* already described, which represents the Venetian ducat of 53 or 54 gr.

GOLD, An. 1167.

DCIII.

اسمعیل *ISMÀÎL*, UNDER THE PROTECTION OF *KERÎM KHÂN*.

GOLD, An. 1170.

I. AREA. شد افتاب و ماه زرو سیم درجهان
سکه الامام بحق صاحب الزمان

Fiunt aurum et argentum sol et luna in mundo, per monetam antistitis (*imâm*) de jure, domini seculi.

II. AREA. ضرب دار العلم شیراز ۱۱۷۰

Cuditur in sede doctrinæ s. scientiæ, *Shîrâz*. 1170 (1756-7). 7 dw. 2 gr.

This appears to have been coined under the same state of political affairs, in the city of *Shîrâz*, at that time in the possession of *Kerîm*. The same fanciful inscription will be found on subsequent money of this chief from the mint of that city. The title of ' dominus seculi ' is applied to the *imâm Ali Riza*.

DCIV.

(3) He arrived there about the end of May 1753, and left the city in April 1754, answering to the middle of the year 1167, which terminated in the October following.

DCIV.—DCV.

اسمعيل *ISMÀÌL*, UNDER THE PROTECTION OF *MUHAMMED HASAN.*

GOLD, An. 1170.

I. AREA. بزر سكه از ميمنت زد قضا
بنام علي ابن موسي الرضا ضرب يزد ١١٧٠

Ex auro moneta cuditur fausto decreto, in nomine *Ali Rizâ ben Mûsa.* Cuditur in *Yezd,* (anno) 1170 (1756-7).

II. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol. 7 dw. 1¼ gr. 7 dw. 1 gr.

Although under the circumstances of the warfare carried on between *Kerîm khân* and *Muhammed Hasan* it might be supposed that *Yezd,* lying to the eastward of *Shirâz,* of which the former chief was master, had also acknowledged his authority, yet there are grounds for inferring that this gold coin was struck under the influence of the latter. Its inscription, we may observe, differs materially from the preceding, but will be found to agree with that of the following silver coin of *Mâzanderân,* which place was the principal seat of *Hasan's* power, and of which he was not deprived until his final overthrow and death in 1173. This seems to establish an identity of jurisdiction; and it may be further remarked that in the year 1170, the date of the coin, the fortunes of *Kerîm* were at a low ebb, and his rival was in possession of *Ispahán,* the residence of the pageant king:(1) but, whatever may have been the relative state of the contending parties, it appears that the coinage was suffered to remain on the same ambiguous footing with respect to the unasserted privilege of sovereignty, whilst at the same time a display was made of zealous attachment to the national religion, or *shîàh* principles, more especially on the money attributed to *Hasan,* where the symbol, reprobated by the *Afghân* government, and discountenanced by *Nádir,* is restored to its place.

A similar

(1) "Il (*Hasan*) ne parut jamais devant lui (*Ismâil*) qu'en se prosternant à ses pieds; il ne donna plus aucun ordre qu'au nom d'Ismaël-Chah." Olivier, p. 306.

A similar coin struck at *Ispahân*, evidently under the same auspices, bears the date of 1171. GOLD, An. 1170.

DCVI.

اسمعیل *ISMÀÍL.*

I. AREA. As in the preceding. ضرب مازندران ۱۱۷۰ SILVER, An. 1170.
Cuditur in *Mazanderân* 1170.

II. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol. 7 dw. 7½ gr.

The inscription of this double five-*shâhi* piece differs from that of the preceding *muhr-ashrafi* in nothing but the place of coinage. There is no doubt of its having been equally struck under the regency of *Muhammed Hasan.*

DCVII.

اسمعیل *ISMÀÍL*, UNDER THE PROTECTION OF *KERÎM-KHAN.*

I. AREA. As in the first *muhr-ashrafi* of 1170, with the addition of the word جلو. GOLD, An. 1172.

II. AREA. ضرب جلو ۱۱۷۲
Cuditur in *Halwa?* s. *Jalu?* 1172 (1758-9). 7 dw. 1 gr.

From the identity of inscriptions we may presume this gold coin to have been struck under the influence of *Kerîm* and not of his rival, whom he compelled to evacuate the capital of Persia in this year 1172. The place

GOLD, An. 1172. of coinage, in fair *niskhi* characters on the Reverse, appears to be جلو, without any diacritical points; but such a name as *Halwa* is unknown to Persian geography, and if we suppose the word to be meant for جلو, the difficulty is not removed. I am ignorant of the mode in which *Julfa*, a suburb of *Ispahân* is written. Should it, however, be جُلفَ, that name might afford the solution. It is at the same time peculiarly remarkable that in the body of the metrical inscription on the Obverse, the word جلو, in *tàlîk* characters, presents itself, without having any imaginable connexion with the sense or measure of the distich.

DCVIII.—DCIX.

اسمعیل *ISMÀÍL* UNDER *KERÍM KHAN.*

GOLD, An. 1176.

I. AREA. As in the preceding, with the substitution of the word كريم for جلو.

II. AREA. هو ضرب دار العلم شيراز ١١٧٦

Ille est (Deus). Cuditur in sede doctrinæ, *Shîrâz.* 1176 (1762-3).
7 dw. 1½ gr.

After the defeat and death of *Muhammed Hasan* (grandfather of the present king of Persia), in the year 1172–1759, *Kerîm-khân*, of the tribe of *Zend*, became undisputed master of the country, and had the crown at his disposal; but having no ambition for the kingly title, he contented himself with assuming that of *walî*, 'regent or protector,' and continued for some years to uphold the pageant *Ismâïl*, as a royal personage. Finding, however, that this system gave rise to intrigues at *Ispahân*, he judged it expedient, in the latter part of the year 1176, to remove him from his nominal throne in that capital, and to place him in a situation of safer custody. The seat of government he also transferred to his favourite city of *Shîrâz*, where this *muhr* was coined.

In

In the style of its inscription it resembles the preceding, but with this difference, that we here see the name of *Kerîm*, which in its signification of 'bountiful' is one of the attributes of the Deity. GOLD, An. 1176.

An *abbási* of the same year, and coined also at *Shiráz*, has the same inscription as several of the preceding, and is only peculiar in the Reverse, which contains the name and epithet of the place, presenting a specimen of the complicated and disproportioned characters of the style of writing called *rohâni*. Its weight is 2 dw. $23\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

DCX.

كريم خان *KERÎM KHÂN.*

I. AREA. As in the preceding. SILVER, An.

II. AREA. يا كريم خلد الله ملكه

O *Kerîm* (Benigne!). Æternet Deus regnum ejus!

2 dw. $22\frac{1}{2}$ gr. 2 dw. $20\frac{1}{4}$ gr.

In the metrical inscription on I. and form of the character on each side, this *abbási* (of which there are two indifferent specimens) agrees with that of the year 1176, but differs essentially in the words on II., where, instead of the name of the place of coinage, we find an invocation to the Deity in his attribute of كريم *kerîm* 'benignus,' which at the same time expresses, by a play on the word, the name of this distinguished person, who, for political reasons, declined to assume a regal title, although in full possession of the sway. He here adopts the prayer for a perpetual or extended reign, so generally found upon the coinsof the Moghul and Kapchak-Tartar princes descended from *Jengiz-khán*.

In consequence of obliteration or imperfect striking the date cannot be satisfactorily made out. On the one face of both specimens appear the numerals ١١, denoting the century, and on the other, the numeral ٨ 8, but whether this be intended for the units or the decimals is uncertain.

DCXI.—DCXII.

UNCERTAIN.

SILVER, An. 1178.

I. AREA. السلطان نادر

Sultanus *Nâdir.*

II. AREA. ضرب كنجه ١١٧٨

Cuditur in *Kanjah* s. *Ganjah.* 1178 (1764-5). 2 dw. 23½ gr. 17 gr.

It is obviously impossible to reconcile with the date of this *abbâsi*, which is quite distinct, the name of the sovereign that appears in the inscription, as *Nâdir Shâh* died seventeen or eighteen years before it was struck. It may be conjectured, however, that the anachronism and difficulty have arisen from a license assumed, under peculiar circumstances, by those who had the conduct of the mint at *Ganjah.* During the troubles occasioned by the contention of powerful chiefs for the custody of a royal pageant unacknowledged by the country in general, the governor of a provincial city might be in a state of uncertainty as to the object of his allegiance, and, as an expedient to avoid the risk of giving dangerous offence, might adopt the negative policy of continuing to issue coinage in the name of the deceased monarch. It will indeed be perceived that an *abbâsi* struck by *Nâdir* at the same place, in the year 1151, resembles this of 1178 so precisely in every part of the inscription, that we cannot hesitate to conclude the dies to be the same, with an alteration of the date only :(1) but in 1182, when the preeminence of *Kerîm* was no longer contested,

(1) T. C. Tychsen, who remarks the incongruity, is led to doubt its being really a date, and not rather ornamental strokes. Comm. III. p. 35. A specimen much less perfect than mine could alone justify this mode of evading the difficulty. It is not, however, without example in other countries. "On trouve (says M. Bonneville) dans la circulation des pièces de 6 sols ou vingtièmes d'écus, à l'effigie de Louis XV. et au millésime de 1779. La fabrication de ces espèces, que les circonstances rendoit impérieuse, eut lieu en vertu de lettres patentes du Roi, du 22 Août 1779, qui permit que l'on se servît des mêmes poinçons dont on avoit fait usage du temps du feu Roi; on ne changea que le millésime." Traité des Monnaies, &c. p. 16.

tested, we find the coinage of *Ganjah* to be in conformity with that of other parts of the empire. SILVER, An. 1178.

A *shâhi* from the same mint, the date of which is obscure so far as respects the units, but seems to be 1177, bears equally the name of *Nâdir Shâh.*

DCXIII.—DCXIV.

AHMED SHÂH ABDÂLI. احمد شاه ابدالي

I. AREA. حكم شد از قادر بيچون باحمد پادشاه GOLD, An.(1175)
سكه زن برسيم و زر از اوج ماهي تابماه ١١٨٠

Mandatum est ab Omnipotente incomparibili ad *Ahmed* imperatorem: Cude monetam ex argento auroque ab ascensione Piscium usque at Lunam. (Anno) 1175 (1761).

II. AREA. ضربٌ ديره سنه ١٥

Cuditur in *Dîrah*, anno (regni) 15. 7 dw. 2½ gr.

Upon the death of *Nádir Sháh* in 1160–1747, one of his generals named *Ahmed*, of the *Abdáli* tribe of Afghans, rendered himself master of *Kandahár*, and established an independent kingdom nearly in the site of what had been the empire of Ghizni. Between the years 1170–1756 and 1174–1760 he made repeated hostile incursions into Hindustan and plundered the city of *Dehli*, during the reigns of *Muhammed Sháh* and *Alumgîr* II. In the last-mentioned year he also defeated, in a celebrated battle on the plains of Paniput, a Mahratta army of two hundred thousand men. By him this *ashrafi* was struck, the date of which is one year subsequent to his last occupation of *Dehli* as well as to the succession of *Sháh Alum* to the nominal throne of the Moghuls of India. The name of ديره *Dîrah*, as the place of coinage, is probably meant for a town on the western bank of the Indus, called in our maps *Dera ghâzi khân.* The word

GOLD, An.(1175) word, however, signifies 'a tent or camp,' and as the life of this monarch was passed mostly in the field, it may be the appellative rather than a proper name: but in this sense the term generally employed is اوردو *órdú.*

A silver coin or rupih of the same prince, weighing 8 dw. $9\frac{1}{2}$ gr., has similar inscriptions, with the difference only of its bearing the dates of 1180 of the *hejrah* and 20 of *Ahmed's* reign.(1)

DCXV.

كريم خان *KERÎM KHÂN.*

SILVER, An. 1181.

I. AREA. &c. شد افتاب و ماه

Fiunt aurum et argentum sol et luna, &c. O *Kerîm* (Benigne!) يا كريم

II. AREA. ضرب دار المرزز شت ١١٨١

Cuditur in sede limitanea, *Resht*, 1181 (1767.) 2 dw. $22\frac{3}{4}$ gr.

In its metrical inscription and in weight this *abbâsi* resembles that of 1176, but the style of workmanship is much ruder, and in the words on the Reverse there is a considerable variation. The artist, instead of exerting his skill to a better purpose, has here ingeniously endeavoured to make the reading difficult by bringing into one line several characters nearly alike in appearance, that are to be combined in forming the name of the place where it was coined (*Resht*, the capital of *Gîlan*) together with its courtly epithet of دار المرز. This term, which has been translated 'limitanea,' seems to refer to its geographical position on the 'borders' of the Caspian, or it may, at some period of history, have been considered as

(1) On a similar coin of this king in a Persian manuscript list, the dates are 1173 and 14 of the reign. The place, if correctly read, is انوله *Anûlah*; a name that has not elsewhere occurred.

as a 'frontier' Persian city. Some doubts having been entertained respecting the correct reading of the word, I think it necessary to mention that I have found it also in the description, by a native, of a coin of the present king, struck at the same place. By Golius it is said to apply to the whole tract of *Tabarestan* and *Gîlan*. Notæ in Alferganum, p. 165. SILVER, An. 1181.

DCXVI.—DCXVII.

كريم خان *KERÎM KHÂN.*

I. AREA. &c. شد افتاب و ماه SILVER, An. 1182.

Fiunt aurum et argentum sol et luna, &c.

II. AREA. O *Kerîm* (Benigne!) يا كريم

ضرب كنجه ١١٨٢

Cuditur in *Kanjah* 1182 (1768).

MARGIN. *Shiàh* symbol. 2 dw. 10 gr.

This is the first of *Kerîm's* money on which the *Shiàh* profession of faith appears. In his religious principles he was remarkably tolerant, and was the protector of the Armenian christians who inhabited the quarter or suburb of *Ispahân* called *Julfa*.

There are also two smaller coins of the same year, anomalous as to their weight, the one being $21\frac{3}{4}$ and the other $13\frac{1}{2}$ gr., with the words يا كريم on one side, and on the reverse ضرب تفليس ١١٨٢ cuditur in *Teflis* (the capital of Persian Georgia) 1182.

DCXVIII.

DCXVIII.—DCXIX.

كريم خان *KERÎM KHAN.*

SILVER, An. 1184.

I. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol.

II. AREA. يا كريم ضرب دار السلطنة تبريز ١١٨٤

O *Kerîm* (Benigne!) Cuditur in sede imperiali *Tabrîz*, 1184 (1770).

16½ gr. 17 gr.

Excepting in a varied distribution of the parts of the inscription, this *shâhi* (extended in surface, but reduced in weight) has nothing particular deserving of notice. Another, of 1188, is in all respects similar.

DCXX.—DCXXI.

كريم خان *KERÎM KHÂN.*

SILVER, An. 1187-1189

I. AREA. شد افتاب و ماه &c. ١١٨٧

Fiunt aurum et argentum, &c. 1187.

II. AREA. ضرب دار الامان كرمان ١١٨٩

Cuditur in sede securitatis, *Kirmân* 1189 (1775). 5 dw. 21½ gr.

This double *abbâsi*, which may be considered as a rupih, is the most weighty of the silver coinage of *Kerîm khân*. The complicated characters on its Reverse are in the same style as those of 1176 already noticed from the mint of *Shirâz*, with which city that of *Kirmân*, where it was struck, has at most times been politically connected. Between the dates, as expressed on the opposite sides, there is a difference of two years; which may

may be accounted for by supposing that from inadvertence the counter-die of a former year was made use of along with a die containing the more recent and correct date. SILVER, An. 1187-1189

The appellation of *Kirmân* properly belongs to a province (the most eastern of Persia) whose capital city is سیرجان *Sîrjân*, but to which the former name is commonly applied by geographers and historians. From the mint of this city there are also three silver coins, of the year 1154 (1741), weighing each 2 dw. 12 gr. The rudeness of their workmanship and entire want of resemblance to the coinage of *Nâdir shâh*, who ruled Persia at that time, lead us to conclude that they were not struck by royal authority, but by a governor or native chief who was enabled to assert a temporary independence. The ill-formed characters of the inscriptions compose, on one side, the words سلطان احمد 'sultân Ahmed,' and on the other, دار الامان 'sede securitatis,' with the year as above.

DCXXII.

كريم خان *KERÎM KHÂN.*

I. AREA. &c. شد افتاب و ماه GOLD, An. 1189.

Fiunt aurum et argentum sol et luna, &c.

II. AREA. یا کریم ضرب دار المرز رشت ۱۱۸۹

O *Kerîm* (Benigne!). Cuditur in sede limitanea *Resht*, 1189 (1775). 3 dw. 12½ gr.

This half *muhr-ashrafi* (in duplicate) resembles precisely in its inscriptions the silver coin of 1181, from the mint of the same city.

DCXXIII.—DCXXV.

كريم خان *KERÎM KHAN.*

SILVER, An. 1189.

I. AREA. يا صاحب الزمان

O Domine seculi!

II. AREA. ضرب شماخي ١١٨٩

Cuditur in *Shamâkhî* 1189 (1775). 2 dw. 1 dw. 21 gr. 1 dw. 1 gr.

Shamâkhi, where this *abbâsi*, of very light weight, was struck, is the capital of the province of شروان *Shirwân*, lying between the river *Kûr* and the Caspian sea. Although its inscription does not express, even by allusion, the name of *Kerîm*, and the appellation of 'dominus seculi' must be understood to belong, not to the prince, but (as already observed) to the *imâm Ali Rizâ*, yet, from its general appearance and style, we can entertain little doubt of its having been coined under the authority of the person who then exercised sovereign sway in Persia. T. C. Tychsen, indeed, inclines rather to attribute these pieces to the distinguished prince who at this period sat upon the dependent throne of Georgia. "Ad Heraclium, he says, etiam spectare argenteos Schamagiæ et Kengæ cusos, cum vel sine Kerimi nomine, supra monui." But it may be asked, why should not the coinage of a Christian prince exhibit some token of Christianity, instead of the year of the *hejrah*, and, on some specimens, the symbol of the *Shîàh* sect? Until the month of July 1783 (1197), when Heraclius, by a formal act, transferred his allegiance to Russia, he was the vassal of Persia; and although he did in fact coin money bearing a device of his own chusing, it is of a description entirely distinct from what we have now under consideration, which is purely mahometan.

Another depreciated and partially defaced *abbâsi* from the mint of *Shamâkhi* expresses a date that may be either 1189 or 1190, as only a ٩ can be distinguished after the figures denoting the century.

There is also, of the date of 1189, a small piece from the mint of *Teflis*, that from its anomalous weight of 1 dw. 1 gr. may be two *shâhis*.

DCXXVI.

DCXXVI.—DCXXVIII.

كريم خان *KERÎM KHÂN.*

I. Area. يا صاحب الزمان — Silver, An. 1189.
O Domine seculi!

II. Area. يا كريم ضرب كنجه ١١٨٩
O *Kerîm* (Benigne!). Cuditur in *Kanjah* 1189 (1775).
1 dw. 23½ gr. 1 dw. 23½ gr. 1 dw. 22½ gr.

Of this coin, perhaps intended for an *abbâsi*, there are, besides this specimen of the year 1189, six of the year 1190, and one of 1192, all from the mint of *Kanjah* or *Ganjah*, resembling each other as well in the words of the inscription as in the form of the ornamental lines, and nearly of the same weight.

DCXXIX.

كريم خان *KERÎM KHÂN.*

I. Area. *Shîàh* symbol. — Gold, An. 1190.

II. Area. (از)نصره ضرب في أمّ البلاد ١١٩٠
Adjumento (divino) cuditur in urbium matre, 1190 (1776).

Margin. يا كريم O *Kerîm* (Benigne!).
3 dw. 12½ gr.

The appearance of this half *muhr-ashrafi* (as its weight denotes) differs materially from that of the preceding gold coinage; but its chief peculiarity

GOLD, An. 1190. liarity is the epithet or honorary appellation of Mother of cities, by which the real name of the place of coinage is disguised.(1) As *Meshhed* was a city in high repute on account of its containing the tomb of the venerated *imâm*, and was the capital or favourite residence of *Nâdir*, it may have acquired that distinction: but this is merely unsupported conjecture.(1)

DCXXX.—DCXXXII.

كريم خان *KERÎM KHÂN.*

SILVER, An. 1190.

I. AREA. الحمد لله ربّ العالمين
Laus Deo domino mundorum.

II. AREA. ضرب تفليس ١١٩٠
Cuditur in *Teflis* 1190 (1776).

MARGIN. O *Kerîm* (Benigne!) يا كريم 2 dw. 22½ gr.

We find upon this coin, which is of the regular weight of an *abbâsi*, a new and purely religious sentence adopted by *Kerîm*, but confined to this particular mint.

There are also four smaller silver coins of the same place, and with the same inscription: two of them of the year 1190, one without a perceptible date, and one of 1194, which, it should be observed, is a year after *Kerîm's* death. Their weights respectively are about 1 dw. 23 gr. or 1 dw. less than the above *abbâsi*, as were several others before described, which I conjectured to be depreciated *abbâsîs*, but it seems more probable that all of that weight were current as half five-*shâhi*-pieces. In some of the

(1) I have since been informed that the city to which this distinction belongs is بلخ *Balkh*, the ancient capital of *Khoraśân*. See also 'Sup. à l'Histgén des Huns, &c.' p. 127. par M. J. Senkowsky.

the dates the cypher or zero is omitted in the place of units, without any necessity from want of room. SILVER, An. 1190.

In this place likewise must be noticed an *abbâsi* of 2 dw. 23 gr. apparently of *Kerîm khân*, but without date, which on one side has the words ضرب في البلاد هراة الطيّب يا كريم 'Cuditur in civitate *Herât* præclarâ. O *Kerîm!*' and on the other, the *Shâh* symbol.

DCXXXIII.

كريم خان *KERÎM KHÂN.*

I. AREA. &c. شد افتاب و ماه GOLD, An. 1192.

Fiunt aurum et argentum sol et luna, &c.

II. AREA. ١١٩٢ ضرب دار العبادة يزد

Cuditur in sede adorationis, *Yezd.* 1192 (1778). 1 dw. 18½ gr.

In this, the last of the gold coins struck during the long and prosperous reign of *Kerîm*, which terminated early in the following year, his name that in the usual equivocal manner should appear at the apex of the characters, ornamentally disposed, has been obliterated, and apparently by design. These characters form the word دارالعبادة; being the moral epithet applied, in the courtly style, to the city of *Yezd.* In the date, otherwise distinct, the engraver of the die has reversed the figure of 9.

DCXXXIV.

DCXXXIV.—DCXXXV.

صادق خان *SADIK KHÂN?*

SILVER, An. 1194.

I. AREA. *Shîàh* symbol.

II. AREA. ضرب دار السلطنة تبريز ١١٩٤

Cuditur in sede imperii *Tabrîz*, 1194 (1780).

MARGIN. O Benigne! يا كريم 18¼ gr. 19 gr.

This *shâhi*, of a size uncommonly broad and thin, was struck at *Tabrîz* during the confused period that ensued upon the death of *Kerîm*, when the government of the country was successively held, for a few months, by *Zekî khân*, *Abu'lfat-ha khân*, and *Sâdik khân*, until it was seized, in 1195, by *Ali Murâd khân*. As amongst these ephemeral rulers *Sâdik's* reign corresponds best with the date, the coins may with safety be attributed to him; and being the brother of *Kerîm*, we need not be surprised at still finding on them the equivocal invocation that had hitherto distinguished the money of that chief.

Of the date of 1195 there is another *shâhi* with similar inscriptions.

DCXXXVI.—DCXXXVII.

صادق خان *SADÍK KHÂN.*

GOLD, An. 1195.

I. AREA. شد افتاب و ماه &c.

Fiunt aurum et argentum sol et luna, &c.

II. AREA. ضرب دار العلم شيراز ١١٩٥

Cuditur in sede doctrinæ, *Shîrâz* 1195 (1781). 6 dw. 17 gr.

For

For a stronger reason than could be applied to the foregoing silver coins from the mint of *Tabríz*, this treble or *muhr-ashrafi*, from that of *Shîrâz*, must have been struck under the immediate authority of *Sâdik khân*, whom we know to have been in possession of that city during the whole of the year 1195. It was in 1196 that his son's army was defeated, and that he surrendered his capital to *Ali Murâd*, who put him to death. GOLD, An. 1195.

A rupih of the same year, and with the same inscription, weighs 7 dw. 10 gr.

DCXXXVIII.

علي مراد خان *ALI MURÂD KHÂN.*

I. AREA. &c. شد افتاب و ماه GOLD, An. 1197.

Fiunt aurum et argentum sol et luna, &c.

II. AREA. ۱۱۹۷ ضرب دار العبادة يزد

Cuditur in sede adorationis, *Yezd.* 1197 (1783).

MARGIN. O *Ali!* ياعلي 1 dw. 18 gr.

Ali Murâd having become supreme ruler of Persia by the conquest of the southern provinces and destruction of *Sâdik*, in the year 1185, and retained the ascendency until his death in 1199 (1785), this coin of 1197, from the mint of *Yezd*, must be assigned to him, although it does not exhibit his titles. In imitation of *Kerîm* he did not affect sovereignty, and assumed only the appellation of regent. So also upon his coins he followed the example of that chief in the figurative mode of introducing his name; for here, instead of the invocation يا كريم O *Kerîm*, which in its more obvious sense is an address to the Deity, we perceive the words ياعلي O *Ali*, which imply, ambiguously, both the name of the revered *imâm* of their sect and his own prænomen.

The

GOLD, An. 1197. The metrical distich adopted by the former appears also on this piece (which from its light weight we should scarcely be justified in calling an *ashrafi*), although not on his later gold coinage.

DCXXXIX.

علي مراد خان *ALI MURÂD KHÂN.*

SILVER, An. 1197.

I. AREA. As in the preceding.

II. AREA. ضرب دار العلم شيراز ١١٩٧

Cuditur in sede doctrinæ *Shîrâz* 1197 (1783).

MARGIN. O *Ali!* ياعلي 7 dw. 9 gr.

This silver coin resembles the preceding one of 1197, and both appear to be on the model of the rupih of Hindustan.

DCXL.

علي مرادخان *ALI MURAD KHAN.*

GOLD, An. 1198.

I. AREA. *Shîdh* symbol.

II. AREA. As in the preceding silver coin. 1198 (1783-4).

7 dw. 2 gr.

Ali Murâd died in the fourth month of the year 1199 (February 1785). This handsome *muhr-ashrafi*, or treble ducat, from the mint of *Shîrâz*, is the last of his gold coinage.

DCXLI.—DCXLII.

علي مراد خان *ALI MURAD KHÂN.*

I. Area. شد افتاب و ماه زر و سيم &c. Silver, An. 1198.
Fiunt aurum et argentum sol et luna, &c.

II. Area. ضرب دار السلطنة اصفهان سنه ١١٩٨
Cuditur in sede imperii *Isfahân.* Anno 1198.

Margin. O *Ali* يا علي 7 dw. 10 gr. 7 dw. 7 gr.

Of the same date as the preceding gold *muhr* is this double five-*shâhi* piece or *rupîh,* coined at Ispahan. Another of similar form and inscription, coined at *Shîrâz,* but in less perfect condition, and consequently some grains lighter, closes this series of *Ali Murâd's* money, in which it is obvious that he imitates the style of *Nâdir's* rather than of *Kerîm's* coinage.

DCXLIII.—DCXLIV.

جعفر خان *JÀFAR KHÂN.*

I. Area. يا ايمام جعفر صادق Silver, An. 1199.
O *imâm Jàfar Sâdik!*

II. Area. ضرب دار العلم شيراز ١١٩٩
Cuditur in sede doctrinæ *Shîrâz* 1199 (1784-5).
7 dw. 11 gr. 7 dw. 8½ gr.

Upon the death of *Ali Murâd* the government was assumed by *Jàfar khân,* the son of *Sâdik,* who immediately took possession of *Ispahân,* and

SILVER, An. 1199. in the course of the year 1199 coined money both in that city and at *Shîrâz*. Being of the family of *Kerîm*, it may be observed that he adopts the style of his uncle's coinage, and particularly in the complicated character to which the name of *rohâni* has been given. But the most remarkable feature of the inscription on this *rupîh* is the ingenious manner in which his own name, in imitation of what had been done by his predecessors, *Kerîm* and *Ali Murâd*, is recorded under the semblance of a religious invocation. It is well known that one of the twelve *imâms* revered by the followers of *Ali*, the son-in-law of the Prophet, was named *Jàfar Sâdik* (verax), and the chief himself being *Jàfar* the son of *Sâdik*, he availed himself of the appropriate similarity of words, and invoked the sixth, as *Ali Murâd*, with the same object, had done the eighth *imâm*. In this instance, however, we must allow the aptitude to be more striking, and it is rendered conspicuous by being made to occupy the whole of the area. The specimen from the Ispahan mint is lighter than the other, but both are double five-*shâhi* pieces, and intended for what in Hindustan is termed *sikkah* weight. *Jàfar* died by the weapons of conspirators in the year 1203 (1789).(1)

DCXLV.

اغا محمد خان *AGHÂ MUHAMMED KHÂN.*

SILVER, An. 1209.

I. AREA. &c. شد افتاب و ماه

Fiunt aurum et argentum sol et luna, &c.

II. AREA. ضرب دار العلم شیراز ۱۲۰۹

Cuditur in sede doctrinæ *Shîrâz*, 1209 (1794-5). 7 dw. 9 gr.

This

(1) Captain Francklin, who published 'Observations made on a tour from Bengal to Persia, in the years 1786-7,' resided at *Shîrâz* during the reign or government of *Jàfar*, and speaks in high terms of his hospitality to strangers: a virtue that, like charity, 'covers a multitude of sins.'

This coin, struck at *Shîrâz* in the year 1209, presents no other criterion than the date, by which the propriety of assigning it to one chief rather than to another can be determined, and as there was a struggle (however unequal) for the supremacy, between *Aghâ Muhammed*, the son of *Muhammed Hasan*, and *Lutf Ali*, the son of *Jàfar*, the date alone would not be sufficient; but the historical accounts of the period shew us that for some time previous to the death of the latter brave and unfortunate prince, which took place in this year, the city, and consequently the mint, of *Shîrâz*, was under the controul of the former, the head of the *Kâjâr* tribe, and uncle of the reigning king of Persia. Not having himself affected a regal title, nor, so long as *Lutf Ali* lived, having secure possession of the government, he may have suffered the coinage to wear this negative character.(1)

SILVER, An. 1209.

The specimen, a double five-*shâhi*-piece, or *rupîh*, is in but indifferent preservation.

DCXLVI.—DCXLVII.

شاه فتح علي قاجار *SHÂH FAT-HA ALI KÂJÂR.*

I. AREA. السلطان شاه فتح علي قاجار

Shâh Fat-ha Alî Kâjâr, sultanus. 1213 (1798-9).

GOLD, An. 1213.

II. AREA. ضرب لاهنجان العزّ لله

Cuditur in *Lâhnjân*. Gloria Deo! 3 dw. 22½ gr. 3 dw. 22¼ gr. 3 dw. 22 gr.

Fat-ha

(1) Sir W. Ouseley observes that "this tyrant's name was almost universally pronounced *Aa Mahammed*, the title *Agha* اغا, or *Aka* اقا, as the north-eastern tribes write it, losing in familiar conversation the *gh* or *k*." Travels, Vol. II. p. 59. It appears from an original history of the *Kâjâr* family that his proper title was *Abu'l Nâser Muhammed Shâh*.

87511

GOLD, An. 1213. *Fat-ha Ali* or *Fat'hàli* (the son of *Husein Kuli-khân*, and grandson of *Muhammed Hasan Khân*) who had been previously known by the familiar appellation of *Bábá khân*, ascended the throne soon after the assassination of *Aghá Muhammed* in 1211 (1797), and appears to be the first ruler of Persia since the extinction of the *Súfi* race, by whom the regal title was assumed; for although the word *shâh* is commonly annexed by historians to the name of *Nádir*, it is not found on the coinage of his reign. Upon hearing of his uncle's death he hastened from *Shîrâz* to *Tehrân*, which city had latterly become the seat of government, and caused himself to be acknowledged supreme head of the state, by the title which he now bears.(1)

His money differs both in appearance and in weight from that of his predecessors, and this gold piece of 94 grs., which cannot be referred to any known Persian denomination, is said to have received the name of *tomân*, under which it now passes in general currency. Its value of sixteen shillings, nearly, differs little from that of the half-*muhr* of the coinage of Hindustan, to which, from the period of *Nâdir's* conquest, the Persian money seems to have approximated. The place where it was struck is *Lâhnjân*, a town of the province of *Gîlan*, on the shore of the Caspian, not far from *Resht*.(2)

In imitation of *Kerîm* and *Ali Murâd*, but without any allusion to his own name, *Fat-ha Ali* adopted as a species of motto, the words العزّ لله, which may imply either 'gloria Deo' or 'gloria per Deum.' The term of قاجار *Kájár*, which always accompanies his name and titles, is that of the tribe to which his family belongs, whose chiefs had long made a conspicuous figure in the civil wars of Persia.(3)

Another

(1) According to the information acquired by M. Olivier at Constantinople, he took, in the first instance, the title of regent (*wali*) only; but Malcolm asserts that he was at once proclaimed king, although not publicly crowned until the beginning of 1212-1798.

(2) The name of this place in some of our maps is Lahdjan and Lahijan: in that of Macdonald Kinnier it is Lahijon. Ibn Haukal writes the word لانجان *Lânjân*, and in the geographical tables of the Ayin Akbari it is لاهجان *Lâhjân*; the one containing the ن and the other the ه, exclusively; both of which are united in the name as it appears on the coins.

(3) M. Olivier describes their origin as that of a band of Ottoman deserters, who, in the reign of *Shâh Abbâs* I., settled on his Armenian frontier, and

Another gold coin of the same description is from the mint of *Iṣfahân*. From the numerous specimens of this metal in the collection it may be inferred that gold, in proportion to silver, is now in greater abundance than at former periods, when, as we are told by travellers, it was too rare to be considered as forming a part of the general currency. GOLD, An. 1213.

"The Turkish tribe of *Kujur* (Sir John Malcolm informs us) had been long settled in Syria *(Rûm?)*. They were brought from that country to Persia by Timour, and were one of the seven tribes who combined to raise *Shah Ismail*, the first of the *Suffavean* race, to the throne of Persia." Hist. of P., vol. II. p. 125. "The *Cajars* (says Sir W. Ouseley) have been distinguished during several generations among the tribes of *Mazenderân*, the ancient Hyrcania. But I cannot trace them farther back than the year 906 (of the *hejrah*) or of our era 1500." Travels in Persia, vol. II. p. 59.

and whose offer of military service he accepted; but becoming apprehensive of their conduct, he judged it necessary to weaken their force, by distributing them in various provinces, leaving, however, the greater number in *Mâzanderân*. It is added that 'they were named *Kadchiars* from a Turkish word signifying 'fugitives,' the pronunciation of which was subsequently altered to *Kaggiars*.' On this I should observe that oriental etymologies are to be admitted with great caution, having in general no other foundation than a fancied resemblance of sounds, to which a plausible story is accommodated. Of this many notable examples are to be found in 'l'Histoire genéalogique des Tatars' by Abu'lghazi. The Turkish word is قاچغون *kâchaghûn* 'fuggitivo,' from قاچمق *kâchmak* 'fuggire;' which has little orthographic connexion with قاجار *kâjâr;* and the application of the term to this tribe, seems to have been an attempt on the part of the Ottomans to stigmatise the family of their political opponent. That they were Turkomans of Asia minor there is little reason to doubt, and when the general habits of these people are considered, there is no difficulty in accounting for their having pitched their tents on the confines of Persia and Armenia.

DCXLVIII.

شاه فتح علي *SHÂH FAT-HA ALI.*

SILVER, AR. 1213.

I. AREA. As in the preceding.

II. AREA. ضرب دار السلطنة اصفهان العز لله

Cuditur in sede imperii *Isfahân.* Gloria Deo! 6 dw. 15½ gr.

The inscription on the Reverse of this rupih is in the complicated character termed *rohâni.* Although the city of *Ispahân* is here, as in most instances, complimented with the title of 'seat of empire,' it is well known that under the reigning family it has never been the residence of the court.

DCXLIX.

شاه فتح علي *SHÂH FAT-HA ALI.*

GOLD, AN. 1213.1214

I. AREA. السلطان فتح علي قاجار ١٢١٣

Shâh Fat-ha Ali, sultanus, 1213.

II. AREA. ضرب دار العبادة يزد ١٢١٤ العز لله

Cuditur in sede adorationis, *Yezd.* 1214 (1799). Gloria Deo!

3 dw. 22½ gr.

A difficulty presents itself in this and some of the following coins, in having dates on the opposite sides that do not correspond with each other; but upon examining the impressions, it will be evident that the die which contained the earlier date (1213) belonged to the year preceding that

that in which the coin was actually struck, and from motives of expedition or economy, was made to serve along with the new counter-die for the coinage of 1214. GOLD, An. 1213.1214

DCL.

شاه فتح علي *SHÂH FAT-HA ALI.*

I. AREA.	As in the preceding.	SILVER, An. 1213.1214
II. AREA.	As in the preceding. 6 dw. 15 gr.	

So perfect is the resemblance in every minute stroke between the impressions of this silver and of the preceding gold coin, that there can be no doubt of their having been struck from the same individual dies: an identity that has scarcely been observed through the whole collection, even with respect to coins of the same metal. To persons conversant with the operations of the mint it is well known that this endless variety proceeds from the accidents to which the dies are liable, and the frequent occasion for renewing them. The precision to which the modern improvements in machinery have attained, may have remedied this inconvenience.

DCLI.—DCLII.

شاه فتح علي *SHÂH FAT-HA ALI.*

I. AREA.	As in the preceding. 1213.	GOLD, An. 1213.1214
II. AREA.	ضرب دار السلطنة طهران ١٢١٤ العز لله	

Cuditur in sede imperii, *Tehrân.* 1214 (1799). Gloria Deo!
3 dw. 21½ gr. 3 dw. 23 gr.

This

GOLD, An. 1213.1214

This is the first in the series of Persian coins that appears to have been struck in the city of *Tehrân*, which until the reign of *Aghá Muhammed* had never been made the seat of government, although its situation near the passes of the mountains leading to *Mázanderán* and the southern shore of the Caspian, rendered it always a military post of great importance. Malcolm attributes the choice of it by that ruler to its being in the centre of the pasture lands of those Turkish tribes on whose support he chiefly depended; but its retention as his capital by the present king of Persia, in preference to *Shîráz* or *Ispahán*, in spite of its unhealthiness and the intolerable heat to which it is subject during a part of the year, is probably determined by its convenient distance from the frontier towards that enemy whose attacks are the most to be apprehended. All *Adherbiján* might be overrun by a Russian army before a sufficient force could be moved for its protection from the province of *Fars*. Its honorary epithet of 'sedes imperii' heretofore applied to *Ispahán* and *Tabrîz*, must have been conferred on it by *Fat-ha Alí*.

The characters on the Reverse, owing in some degree to double striking, are confused and indistinct, and it is evident that this later die has been engraved by a less skilful artist than that of 1213.

DCLIII.

شاه فتح علي *SHÁH FAT-HA ALI.*

SILVER, An. 1214.

I. AREA. As in the preceding. 1214 (1799).

II. AREA. ضرب دار العلم شيراز

Cuditur in sede doctrinæ, *Shîráz*. 6 dw. 14 gr.

The inscription on I. of this rupih is in the same form of character as that on the coins struck at the seat of government, but that on II., in the

the *tâlîk* style, is precisely similar to the inscription first employed at *Shirâz* about the year 1195, under the regency of *Sâdik khân*, and there is little doubt of one of the old dies (not containing a date) being here again brought into use; an additional proof of which is its wanting the religious motto found on all other coins of this king. SILVER, AH. 1214.

DCLIV.

شاه فتح علي *SHÂH FAT-HA ALI.*

I. AREA. السلطان شاه فتح علي قاجار ١٢١٥ SILVER, AH. 1215.

Sultanus *Shâh Fat-ha Ali Kâjâr.* 1215 (1800).

II. AREA. ضرب دار السلطنة طهران العزّ لله

Cuditur in sede imperii *Tehrân.* Gloria Deo! 6 dw. 17½ gr.

This rupih, from the mint of the capital, is the most recent Persian coin in the collection. I have drawings of two handsome coins struck at *Resht* in the years 1221 and 1223 (1808), in which the king styles himself السلطان ابن السلطان 'sultanus filius sultani.' Of recent dates they must be common.

COPPER MONEY OF PERSIA, WITH FIGURES.

As upon this species of money the name of the sovereign does not appear, and its general character in every respect bears so little analogy to the gold and silver currency, it has been judged most convenient to keep the description of it distinct, and to bring into one point of view all the specimens that contain either a date or the name of a place, in addition to the figure of some animal or other object, which has already been

noticed as the peculiar feature of this coinage. That it had its origin from or belongs more peculiarly to the northern provinces of the kingdom, and probably to the country of Georgia, which was long under the Persian dominion, must be admitted from the circumstance of so large a proportion of the whole number being from the mints of *Erivan*, *Teflis*, *Ganjah*, and *Tabrîz*, as well as of the occasional appearance of Georgian letters in the inscriptions; but, on the other hand, as several of them are from the more southern provinces, and all bear evidence of their being coined under mussulman influence, they must, upon the whole, be classed as current money of the Persian empire.

It is remarkable that their proper name of قزبكي *kazbegi* is not found in any of the inscriptions, but instead of it the Arabic word فلوس *felûs*, the plural of فلس *fels*, supposed to be a corruption of the latin 'follis,'(1) as the Persian denomination of پول *pûl*, applied to the same species of coin, seems to be derived from 'obolus' or ὀβολὸς. Not being furnished by travellers with any information as to the weight of the *kazbegi* or its multiples, we are left to infer it from a comparison of the specimens in the collection, and although the variation in the price, and therefore in the quantity of copper in each piece, must have been great in the course of a century, we shall not err much in considering those which weigh about 1½ to 2 dw. as single, those of about 3 to 4 dw. as double, of about 5 to 6 dw. as treble, and those from about 7 to 10 dw. as quadruple *kazbegîs*; these last being equal in value to the *bisti* or twenty nominal dinars, as already mentioned.(2) Several of them, especially amongst the treble pieces, have countermarks (mostly in the Georgian character), by which, we may presume, a new value was given to them in circulation.

It has been understood by some writers that each city where money of this species was coined had its favourite symbol (like the Greek cities), and that the pieces so impressed were confined to the use of its own particular

(1) "Follis, genus monetæ apud Byzantinos potissimùm. Vetus Gloss. Ms. et Papias: Nummi folles dicuntur à sacculo quo conduntur." Du Cange, Glossar. This etymology is not such as carries conviction with it.

(2) For the convenience of uniformity, Troy weights, as for gold and silver, have been used in weighing these copper pieces, although it is customary to employ the avoirdupois for all the baser metals.

particular district: a supposition that might readily be disproved by reference to the variety of coins from the same mints, and the variety of mints adopting the same figure, were it not for the assertion of a traveller of the seventeenth century (not corroborated, however, by any recent authority), that it was the practice to issue the currency for one year only, at the end of which the figure on the coin was changed for another,(3) and consequently the money of the elapsed year ceased to possess a legal sanction. This, however, would imply such an endless multiplicity of figures, and would be attended with so much trouble, inconvenience, and expence, as to render the system improbable.

The discovery of some connexion between the several representations of animals and the well-known Tartarian cycle of twelve years might at first be anticipated, but although nearly all of those by which the years of the cycle are distinguished (with the exception, perhaps, of the mouse and the monkey) are to be met with in the collection, the coins obviously exhibit many that are unknown to that cycle, or to the zodiac.

DCLV.

(3) "Ils appellent toutes sortes de monnoye de cuivre *pul* (says Olearius), et il y en a une espèce que l'on nomme *Kasbeki*, dont les quarante valent un *abas*. Mais il y a cela de remarquable que chaque ville a sa monnoye particulière, qui n'a cours qu'au lieu ou elle est faite, et pour un an seul, au bout duquel on change la marque, qui est un cerf, un chevreuil, un bouc, un satyre, un poisson, un serpent, ou autre chose semblable." Relation du voyage de Moscovie, de Tartarie et de Perse, (Paris 1656, 4to.) p. 388. In the German original of this work (Hamburg 1696, Fo. p. 294) there is a small plate of Persian coins, omitted and unnoticed in the French translation, which is besides very far from accurate. The following sentence, for example, is not to be found in the latter. "Zu unser Zeit hatten die Kusbeki in Schamachie einem Faunum oder einen jungen Teuffel, zu Kaschan einen Hahn, zu Ispahan einen Löwen, zu Kilan einen Fisch." The specimens in this collection that contain a fish were struck at *Teflis*.

The following are the remarks on the same subject by a late intelligent traveller: "La monnaie Persane consistait (l'an 1796) en une grosse pièce de cuivre ... on la désignait sous le nom de *poul:* elle y était abondante. Toutes les pièces de cette monnaie n'étaient pas du même poids; les unes pesaient plus, et les autres moins d'une décime. Elles portaient, d'un coté l'année et le nom de la ville où elles étaient frappées; de l'autre, un lion et un soleil levant au dessus du dos, ou un lion prêt à dévorer une gazelle; quelquefois un paon, ou bien un porc-épic ayant ses piquans hérissés, ou bien deux poissons. Les abassis et autre monnaies du pays, en or et en argent, y étaient extrêmement rares." Voyage d'Olivier, t. III. p. 181. 4to.

DCLV.—DCLVIII.

تفليس *TEFLÍS.*

COPPER, An. 1168.

I. AREA. Accipiter ardeam unguibus prehendens.

II. AREA. Charact. Georgiani. ١١٦٨ فلوس ضرب تفليس

Felûs s. obolus cuditur in *Teflîs* 1168 (1754). 5 dw. 9 gr.

I. AREA. Piscis (salmo).

II. AREA. Characteres Georgiani. ١١(٧)٩ فلوس ضرب تفليس

Felûs cuditur in *Teflîs*, 11(7)9. 7 dw. 23 gr. 4 dw. 2 gr. 1 dw. 18 gr.

The mixture of Georgian with the Arabic characters is here remarkable. The coins on which a fish, of the salmon kind, is neatly represented, afford specimens in a regular set, of the single, double, and quadruple *kazbegi*. These were all struck during the regency of *Kerîm khân*.

DCLIX.—DCLXII.

ايروان *IRWÂN* s. *ERIVAN.*

COPPER, An. 1117. 1127.1170

I. AREA. Gallus gallinaceus.

II. AREA. ١١١٧ فلوس ضرب ايروان

Felûs s. obolus triplex cuditur in *Irwân*. 1117 (1705). 5 dw. 16 gr. 5 dw. 15 gr.

I. AREA.

COPPER, An. 1117. 1127.1170

I. AREA. Species leporis s. animalis cujusdam cruribus longis.

II. AREA. ۱۱۲۷ فلوس (ضرب) ایروان

Felûs (cuditur in) *Irwân.* 1127 (1715). 5 dw. 16 gr. 5 dw. 11 gr.

I. AREA. Leo cum sole, s. Sol in constellatione Leonis.

II. AREA. *Felûs* cuditur in *Irwân.* 1170 (1756-7). 5 dw. 19 gr. 5 dw. 6 gr.

I. AREA. Leo. *Irwân* . . 71. 5 dw. 16 gr. 5 dw. 15 gr.

Of these the first and second belong to the reign of *Husein.* The third, of 1170, must have been coined under *Muhammed Hasan* (grandfather of the present king), whose influence, during his contention for power with *Kerîm khân,* was prevalent in the northern provinces. The city of Erivan, situated near the upper part of the course of the Araxes, fell into the hands of the Ottomans in 1725, but was restored to the Persian government, under the auspices of *Nâdir,* in 1756.

Amongst the variety of animals chosen for these municipal devices (but not with much discrimination or apparent aptitude) that of the lion is certainly the most in request, and upon one of the oboli of this city, as upon many other specimens, we find it surmounted with the sun; probably intending to represent the luminary in the constellation of Leo. It has already been noticed (p. 96) that the earliest oriental coins so distinguished are those of the twelfth Seljukian sultan of Iconium, whose *tamgha* or emblem seems to have been the prototype followed by the Turkoman sovereigns of Persia.

DCLXIII.—DCLXVII.

كنجه *KANJAH* or *GANJAH*.(1)

COPPER, An. 1132.

I. AREA. Equus.

II. AREA. ١١٣٢ فلوس ضرب (كنجه)

Felûs cuditur in *Kanjah*. 1132 (1719-20). 7 dw. 1 gr. 1158 (1745). 4 dw. 1 gr. 1158. 4 dw. 10 gr.

I. AREA. Leo. 1181 (1767). 3 dw. 18 gr. 5 dw. 14 gr.

The figure of a horse being found upon several of the coins struck at *Kanjah* (three in a tolerably perfect state, and three in part defaced), the supposition might have been entertained of the emblem being peculiarly appropriated to that Georgian city; but upon others with the name of the place distinct, and one of them with the date of 1181, we find the figure of a lion.

DCLXVIII.

نخجوان *NAKHJÂWÂN* or *NAKHJÎWÂN*.

COPPER, An. 1180.

I. AREA. Pavo.

II. AREA. ١١٨٠ فلوس ضرب نخجوان

Felûs cuditur in *Nakhjâwân* 1180 (1766). 5 dw. 15 gr.

This

(1) The name of this city is written *Kanjah* by Malcolm and *Candja* by Olivier; by others *Ganjah*. It is here written with the ك *k*; but the pronunciation may be that of *g*.

This is the only specimen of Persian copper money from the mint of *Nakhjăwân* or *Nakhjĭwân*, a city of *Adherbijân*, on the river *Aras* or Araxes. The figure of the bird is rude. On the Reverse is a Georgian countermark. COPPER, An. 1180.

DCLXIX.

خوي *KHOWAI.*

I. AREA. Leo cum sole. COPPER, An. 1189.

II. AREA. ١١٨٩ فلوس ضرب خوي

Felûs cuditur in *Khowai* 1189 (1775). 10 dw. 15 gr.

This weighty and well preserved copper coin, struck at *Khowai*, a city of *Adherbijân*, also lying to the westward of *Tabrîz*, must be considered as a piece of 6 *kazbegîs* or $1\frac{1}{2}$ *bisti*. Its short legend is quite perfect, and from the date it is to be referred to the regency of *Kerîm khân*.

DCLXX.—DCLXXVI.

تبريز *TABRÍZ.*

I. AREA. Leo cum sole. COPPER, An. 1182.

II. AREA. ١١٨٢ فلوس ضرب تبريز

Felûs cuditur in *Tabrîz* 1182 (1768).
5 dw. 23 gr. 5 dw. 10 gr. 4 dw. 18 gr.

I. AREA.

COPPER, An. 1095.

I. AREA. Leo. Sine anno. 9 dw. 13 gr.

I. AREA. Bos indicus. 1095 (1684). 5 dw. 7 gr. 4 dw. 12 gr.

I. AREA. Cancer. Sine anno. 3½ gr. 2 dw. 9 gr.

Two of these pieces from the mint of *Tabrîz*, with the impression of the lion and sun, are treble *kazbegîs* of an oblong or an imperfect oval form. Another, with the lion only, is a piece of four *kasbegîs*. A more peculiar figure, on two others, is that of the Indian or Persian ox, with the gibbous protuberance over the shoulders. They belong to the reign of *Soleimân ben Abbâs*, and are the earliest specimens of this copper coinage.

DCLXXVII.

همدان *HAMADÁN.*

COPPER, An.

I. AREA. Aquila columbam humi prehendens.

II. AREA. فلوس (ضرب) همدان
Felús cuditur in *Hamadân*. 6 dw. 21 gr.

The design of this emblem is executed with much spirit.

DCLXXVIII.

اصفهان *ISFAHÂN.*

I. Area. Leo, cum sole.

II. Area. فلوس اصفهان (ضرب)
(Cuditur) *felûs* in *Isfahân.* 11 dw. 19 gr.

DCLXXIX.—DCLXXXI.

بغداد *BAGHDÂD.*

I. Area. Mulus. Copper.

II. Area. فلوس ضرب بغداد . . .
Felûs cuditur in *Baghdâd.* 7 dw. 4 gr.

I. Area. Leo cum sole. 2 dw. 16 gr.

I. Area. Corvus. ضرب في بغداد
Cuditur in *Baghdâd.* 1 dw. 3 gr.

These three coins are without date, and it is therefore unknown under what political circumstances the money of this city, the capital of Arabian Irak, should be found to resemble so nearly that of the Persian empire. The animal represented on the first, or treble *kazbegi,* seems to be a mule, and it is not unworthy of remark, that amongst the various etymologies of the name of *Baghdâd* suggested by oriental writers, there is one that connects it with the word بغل *baghl* 'a mule;' and we may further observe that Theophanes, the Byzantine historian, writes the name of the city Βεγλαλ and Βεκλαλ.

COPPER. The smallest of them, with the device of a bird, which is lighter than the usual single *kazbegi*, seems to have an admixture of silver or other white metal, and may have passed for a higher denomination.

DCLXXXII.

شيراز *SHÎRÂZ.*

COPPER, An. 1187.

I. AREA. Canis venaticus?

II. AREA. (11)٧٨ فلوس ضرب شيراز

Felûs cuditur in *Shîrâz* (11)87 (1773). 6 dw. 17 gr.

DCLXXXIII.—DCXC.

The remaining specimens of Persian copper coins wanting both the dates and the names of the cities where they were struck, are of still less interest than the preceding, although fully equal to them in point of workmanship. The following have in this latter respect at least some claim to notice.

	dw.	gr.
Equus	10	10
Camelus, cum palmi ramo	6	8
Idem, cum ramusculo	5	18
Bos	5	20
Gladius s. acinaces Ali bifurcus	9	14
Species animalis cujusdam amphibii	4	9
Scorpio	3	18
Ovis an capra?	3	1

PATAN

PATAN OR *AFGHÂN* SULTANS OF HINDUSTAN.

Muhammed, surnamed *Ghôri* from the city of *Ghôr* in Afghanistan, having rendered himself master of *Ghiznih* and put an end to the dynasty of *Mahmûd*, so celebrated in history, subdued the northern provinces of India, and is considered as the founder of the Patan or *Afghân* dynasty which reigned in *Dehli*. His conquests in that quarter were chiefly effected by his general named *Kotb ed-dîn Ibek*. This remarkable person was a native of *Turkestân*, from which country he was brought away at an early period of life, and sold at *Nishapûr* in *Khorasân*, where he received a liberal education. Becoming highly estimated for his accomplishments, he was afterwards purchased by *Muhammed Ghôri*, who, setting a just value on his talents, soon raised him to the highest dignities, gave him the unlimited command of an army, and finally appointed him his viceroy in the province of Hindustan. This situation he held till the death of the great prince, his master, in the year 602–1206, when the successor to the *Afghân* throne (himself, indeed, a pageant in the hands of another Turkish slave) transmitted to him, at *Lahaur*, the insignia of royalty and a formal acknowledgment of his being, what he was in fact, an independent sovereign. He died at *Dehli* in 607–1210, after a reign of little more than four years, although about twenty had elapsed since his rule in that city commenced.

The following list of these princes, by whom the ancient Hindu government was superseded, and who might be denominated the dynasties of *Ghôri* and of *Khilji*, is formed on the authority of Ferishtah's history, compared with the accounts given in the *Ayin Akbari*.(1)

PATAN

(1) "The race of *Afghans* (says Forster) are commonly known in India by the name of *Patans*, the meaning or etymology of which designation does not seem to be ascertained." Journey from Bengal, vol. II. p. 76.

PATAN OR *AFGHÁN* SULTANS OF HINDUSTÂN.

		A.H.	A.D.
Shahâb ed-dîn Abu'l-Mozaffer Muhammed ben Sâm al-Ghôri malek Ghiznih	شهاب الدين ابو المظفر محمد بن سام الغوري ملك غزنه		
Became master of Dehli about the year		588	1192
Kotb ed-dîn Îbek or *Eibek*	قُطب الدين ايبك	602	1206
Arâm Shâh ben Îbek	ارام شاه بن ايبك	607	1210
Shems ed-dîn Iltemsh	شمس الدين ايلتمش	607	1210
The purchased slave, and afterwards the general and the son-in-law of *Ibek*			
Rukn ed-dîn Fîrûz shâh ben Iltemsh	ركن الدين فيروز شاه بن ايلتمش	633	1235
Sultâneh Rezîah benet Iltemsh	مالكه دوران سلطانه رضيه	634	1236
Mòazz ed-dîn Bîram shâh ben Iltemsh	معز الدين بيرم (بهرام) شاه بن ايلتمش	637	1239
Alâ ed-dîn Masàûd shâh ben Fîrûz shâh	علا الديي مسعود شاه بن فيروز	640	1242
Nâser ed-dîn Mahmûd ben Iltemsh	ناصر الدين محمود بن ايلتمش	643	1245
Gheiâs ed-dîn Balîn	غياث الدين بلين	664	1265
Moazz ed-dîn Kai-Kobâd	معز الدين كيقباد ابن تنكر خان ابن بلين	685	1286
Jelâl ed-dîn Fîrûz Shâh Khilji	جلال الدين فيروز شاه خلجي	688	1289
Alâ ed-dîn Muhammed Shâh Sekander Sânî	علا الدين محمد شاه سكندر ثاني	695	1295
Shahâb ed-din Omar ben Alâ ed-dîn	شهاب الدين عمر ابن علا الدين خلجي	716	1316
Kotb ed-dîn Mubârik shâh Khilji	قطب الدين مبارك شاه خلجي	717	1317
Upon his assassination the throne was usurped for a few months by			
Nâser ed-dîn Khosru	ناصر الدين خسرو		
Gheiâs ed-dîn Tughlik Shâh	غياث الدين تغلق شاه	721	1321
Muhammed Shâh ben Tughlik	محمد شاه ابن تغلق	725	1324
Moàzem Mohedzeb Fîrûz Shâh ben Sâlâr Rajab	معزم مهذب فيروز شاه ابن سالار رجب	752	1351

Gheias

		A.H.	A.D.
Gheiâs ed-dîn Tughlik Shâh II. *ben Fat-ha khân*	غیاث الدین تغلق شاه ثانی ابن فتح خان	790	1388
Abu-bekr Shâh ben Ziffer khân	ابوبکر شاه ابن ظفر خان	791	1389
Nâser ed-dîn Muhammed Shâh ben Fîrûz Shâh	ناصر الدین محمد شاه ابن فیروز شاه		

In 789 his father had resigned the government to him and died in 790; but the succession was disputed by his two nephews, and he did not obtain full possession of the throne until 793 1391

Alâ ed-dîn Sekander Shâh Humâyûn ben Muhammed Shâh	علا الدین سکندر شاه همایون ابن محمد شاه	796	1393
Nâser ed-dîn Mahmûd Shâh ben Muhammed Shâh	ناصر الدین محمود شاه ابن محمد شاه	796	1393

In the year 801 he was driven from his capital by *Timûr*, but returned in 804. He was the last of the *Khilji* tribe of Turks.

Daulat khân Lôdî	دولت خان لودي	816	1413

This Patan officer was called to the throne and coined money as sultan, but his short and imperfect sovereignty is not generally acknowledged by historians.

Kîser or *Khizer khân ben Solîmân*	قیصر (خضر) خان بن سلیمان	817	1414

He received his investiture from *Timûr*, in whose name he is said to have caused the *khotbah* to be read and coin to be struck.

Mòazz ed-dîn Abu'l Fat-ha Mubârik Shâh ben Khizer	معز الدین ابو الفتح مبارک شاه ابن خضر	824	1421
Muhammed Shâh ben Ferîd khân ben Khizer khân	محمد شاه ابن فرید خان ابن خضر خان	837	1433
Alâ ed-dîn ben Muhammed Shâh	علا الدین ابن محمد شاه	850	1446

He abdicated the throne in favour of

Behlôli Lôdi an *Afghân*	بهلول لودي	854	1450
Sekander ben Behlôli	سکندر ابن بهلول	894	1488

He made *Agrah* the imperial residence.

Ibrâhîm ben Sekander	ابراهیم ابن سکندر	923	1517

The last of the *Afghân* tribe of *Lôdî*, defeated and slain on the field of *Paniput*, by *Bâber*, in the year 932.

Ferîd

		A.H	A.D.
Ferîd ed-dîn Shîr Shâh	فريد الدين شير شاه	947	1540

This Patan soldier of fortune, after defeating sultan *Mahmûd* of Bengal, raised his standard against *Humâyûn* the son of *Bâber*, whom he repeatedly overthrew and obliged to fly into Persia. Although he did not get possession of the capital of Hindustan until 947, it appears that he coined money in his own name in 945. In 952 he was killed at the siege of *Kalinjer*.

The names of *Bâber* and of *Humâyûn*, which should chronologically precede that of *Shîr Shâh*, will with more convenience have place at the head of the list of Moghul emperors of Hindustan.

Islâm Shâh ben Shîr Shâh	اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه	952	1545
Muhammed Adil Shâh	محمد عادل شاه	960	1552

He made his way to the throne by the murder of his nephew, the son of *Islâm Shâh*.

Ibrâhîm Sûr	ابراهيم	961	1553
Sekander Shâh	سكندر شاه	962	1554

The nephew of *Shîr Shâh*, originally named *Ahmed*; defeated and driven from Hindustan by the tutor of prince *Akbar*, the son of *Humâyûn*.

DCXCI.

قطب الدين ايبك *KOTB ED-DÎN EIBEK.*

COPPER, AR. 602-607.

I. AREA. قطب الدنيا و الدين
Kotb ed-dunîa wa ed-dîn.

II. AREA. Antistes maximus. الامام الاعظم

This sultan, the founder of the Patan dynasty in Hindustan, was originally a Turkish slave, and had been purchased by *Muhammed Ghôri*, sultan of *Ghiznih*, who gave him at first the name of *Eibek*. Shewing himself

himself possessed of many valuable qualifications and particularly a talent for war, his master raised him to the highest offices, gave him the command of his armies, with the title of *Kotb ed-dîn*, and finally appointed him viceroy of the Indian provinces. These, upon the death of *Muhammed*, were (as before observed) conferred upon him in full sovereignty, by the feeble successor of the empire, and he accordingly ascended the throne, at *Lâhaur*, in the first instance, about the end of the year 602 (1206), from whence he proceeded to *Dehli*, and there fixed the seat of his government. COPPER, An. 602-607

The words on the Reverse are intended for a brief acknowledgment of the supremacy of the khalif of *Baghdâd*; for whose name of *Náser ledînillah* there was not room on the coin. Its antiquity is strongly denoted by its appearance.(1)

DCXCII

شمس الدين ايلتمش *SHEMS ED-DIN ÍLTEMSH.*

I. AREA. شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر شاه السلطان (خلد) الله ملكه SILVER, An. 607-634.

Shems ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l Mozaffer Shâh sultanus. Perpetuet Deus regnum ejus.

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. ابوبكر ... عمر .....

Abubekr ... *Omar* ... 6 dw. 18½ gr.

What the state of the mint at *Dehli* was under the Hindu sovereigns is little known to us, but the rude execution of the money issued by their mussulman

(1) To the kindness of Major Tod, of the Bengal establishment, I am indebted for this and several other specimens of the copper coinage of these dynasties.

SILVER, An. 607-633.

mussulman conquerors would imply that the business of coinage was with them in its infancy; nor have the pieces any general resemblance to those of the same period in any other Mahometan state.

This *rupîh*, if such it may be termed,(1) is without date or name of the place where it was struck; but that of the sultan, who expelled from the throne the son of his master, and reigned from the year 607 to 633, appears with sufficient distinctness, although unaccompanied by his original appellation of *Iltemish*, which it is probable he may have dropped upon his assumption of royalty. The epithet rather than name of *Abu'l Mozaffer* (or *Modhaffer*, according to the Arabic pronunciation), signifying the 'father of victory,' was borne by *Muhammed Ghôrî*, and in imitation of his style, by most of the Turkish princes and their descendants, who reigned in different provinces of India. The phrase of خلد الله ملكه is common to their coins with those of the Moghul and Kapchak Tartars at a subsequent period.

The names of the Companions of the Prophet, in the Margin of II., shew that they were *sunnîs* or orthodox Mahometans.

DCXCIII.

ركن الدين فيروز شاه *RUKN ED-DÎN FÎRÛZ SHÂH.*

COPPER, An. 633-634.

I. AREA. Sultanus *Fîrûz Shâh.* فيروز شاه السلطان

II. AREA. Sede regali *Dehli.* دارالملك دهلي

The want of a date might seem to leave it uncertain whether this small copper coin should be attributed to *Fîrûz*, the first of the name, or to the

(1) Abu'l Fazil asserts that the word روپيه *Rupiah* was not in use before the reign of *Shîr Shâh.*

the second, who reigned from 688 to 695; but we shall see hereafter that the latter is appropriately distinguished by his surname of *Jelâl ed-dîn*, as is the third *Fîrûz*, whose reign extended from 752 to 790, by that of *Mòazem*. COPPER, An. 633-634.

Rukn ed-dîn, a weak and dissolute prince, held the government only seven months, when he was deposed (in 634–1236) by the nobles, who placed his sister, named *sultanah Rezîah*, on the throne. Of this celebrated princess I have seen a copper coin, on one side of which is her name of رضيه *Rezîah*, with the usual expression of خلد سلطانه 'perpetuum sit regnum ejus,' and on the other, some illegible characters that bear a resemblance to the Ottoman *toghra*. "After the confinement of *sultâneh Rezîah*, says Ferishtah, sultan معز الدين بهرام شاه *Mòaz ed-dîn Bîrâm* s. *Bahardm shâh* was raised to the throne of Dehli by the nobles, in the year 637."(1)

DCXCIV.

ناصر الدين محمود بن شمس الدين ايلتمش *NASER ED-DÎN MAHMÛD BEN SHEMS ED-DÎN ILTEMSH.*

I. AREA. السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر محمود بن السلطان SILVER, 643-656.

Sultanus maximus *Nâser ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l Mozaffer Mahmûd* filius sultani.

II. AREA. في عهد الامام المستعصم امير المومنين

Tempore *imâm* (antistitis) *Al-Mostàsem* imperatoris fidelium.

6 dw. 14½ gr.

This sultan, who, whilst a youth, had nominally held the government of the province of Bengal, as the viceroy of his father, succeeded him on

 the

(1) This has since been obligingly added to the collection by Major Tod.

SILVER, An. 643-656.

the throne of Dehli, in 643; but no date can be discovered on the coin, although the duplicate specimens appear to be quite perfect. The circumstance, however, of its having been struck during the khalifat of *Al-Mostàsem* shews that it ought not to be later than the year 656, when that unfortunate prince, the last of the house of *Al-Abbâs*, was put to death by his Moghul conqueror, who, in 657, sent an ambassador to the court of Dehli.(1) The respectful phrase of في عهد, signifying 'tempore, diebus' may also be interpreted 'sub auspiciis,' namely, of the person from whom he received his investiture.

DCXCV.—DCXCVII.

غياث الدين بلين *GHEIÂS ED-DÎN BALÎN.*

GOLD, An. 678.

I. AREA. السلطان الاظم غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر بلين السلطان

Sultanus maximus *Gheiâs ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l Mozaffer Balîn* sultanus.

MARGIN. ..... دهلي في سنه .....

..... *Dehli* anno .....

II. AREA. الامام المستعصم امير المومنين

Al imâm Al Mostàsem imperator fidelium.

MARGIN. ضرب هذه (الله) بحضرة دهلي في سنه ثمان و سبعين و ستمايه

Cuditur hic (denarius) in aula præsentiæ *Dehli*, anno 678 (1279).

7 dw. 1 gr. 6 dw. 21½ gr. E.I.C. 6 dw. 23 gr. silver.

Balîn

(1) "In the month of the first Ribbi of this year (657), an ambassador arrived at Dehli on the part of Hallacu (*Hulagu*), the grandson of Zingis, and king of Persia." Dow, vol. II. p. 214.

Balîn, by whom this respectable gold coin was struck, had been the able minister of *Nâser ed-dîn Mahmûd*, and eventually became his successor. "Upon the death of his sovereign, says *Ferishtah*, he mounted the throne, not only without opposition, but even by the general voice of the nobility and people." As the commencement of his reign was in the year 664, a difficulty presents itself with respect to the appearance, on the Reverse, of the name of the khalif *Mostàsem*, who perished by violence, as we have seen, eight years before that period. An excuse for so glaring an anachronism must be sought in the peculiar circumstances of the case. The unfortunate *Mostàsem* had no successor in *Baghdâd*, the usual seat of the khalifat, and although there was a renovation of the title of Commander of the Faithful, under the protection and influence of the Mamluk dynasty of Egypt, such a political pageant might not have been known to or acknowledged by the sultan of Dehli, who might think his attachment to the sacred office best shewn by continuing on his own coinage the name he had found, or had himself impressed, on that of his late master, until a legitimate representative of the Abbassites should be announced to the faithful. It should also be remarked as an appropriate distinction, that whilst on the money of *Nâser ed-dîn*, who was a cotemporary, the name of the khalif is preceded by words signifying 'in tempore s. diebus,' they are not to be found on this of his successor. GOLD, An. 678.

Although a relative of the late prince, *Balîn* was not the son of a sultan, and therefore we do not find any term of filiation annexed to his name: nor was he singular in this respect, the throne of Dehli having been frequently occupied by successful adventurers of obscure origin.

The marginal inscription both of I. and II. appears to have been the same. On the former it is very defective, but on the latter it is complete, although containing an extraordinary graphical error, the word الله, in distinct characters, occupying the place of الدينار. On a specimen of the same coin in the collection of the East-India Company, I perceive the same anomalous word; but on one of silver, belonging to this, the characters seem to be القصه or القصه. There is a second in silver, of which the marginal inscriptions are illegible. A small copper coin of the same reign has the following legend: 'Sultanus maximus *Gheiâs ed-duniya wa ed-dîn*,'

GOLD, An. 678. *ed-dîn*,' and within a circle on the Reverse, '*Balîn*;'(1) round which are characters that have some resemblance to numerals.

A gold coin of this sultan, which was communicated to me (many years since) by the late Mr. Hannay, of the Bengal establishment, contained the following legend:

I. AREA. ابو الملجي ابو الملك ابو الفتح غياث شاه

Pater refugii (protector)? Pater regni? Pater victoriæ,
Gheiâs Shâh,

II. AREA. ٦٨٣ ... خلد الله السلطان الخلجي بن محمود شاه

ben Mahmûd Shâh al-Khilji, Sultanus. Perpetuet Deus ....
683 (1284).

He is stated by historians to have belonged to the family of *Nâser ed-dîn Mahmûd*, of the tribe of *Khilji*, whom he succeeded on the throne. From motives of policy he styles himself his son, on this coinage, although not on the silver. The meaning of the figurative expressions on I. admits of some degree of doubt.

DCXCVIII.—DCXCIX.

معز الدين كيقباد *MOAZ ED-DÎN KAI-KOBÂD.*

SILVER, An. 688. I. AREA. السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر كيقباد السلطان

Sultanus maximus *Mòaz ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l Mozaffer Kai-Kobâd* sultanus.

II. AREA. الامام المستعصم امير المومنين

Antistes *Al-Mostàsem* imperator fidelium.

MARGIN.

(1) Thus the name is written by all our historians and may be read on the gold and silver coins, but on the copper it is distinctly بلبن *Balban*.

MARGIN. ..... ثمان و ثمانين و ستمايه
..... anno 688 (1289). 6 dw. 18 gr. SILVER, An. 688.

Upon the death of *Gheiâs ed-dîn Balîn* in 685, he was succeeded by his grandson, who took the name of *Mòaz ed-dîn Kai-Kobâd*;(1) the father being at the time viceroy or provincial king of Bengal.

What has been observed in the remarks on the preceding coin, as to the anachronism of continuing the name of a khalif who died in 656, must be equally applied to this.

There is also a small copper coin of this sultan, with a very distinct, but brief legend.

DCC.

جلال الدين فيروز شاه خلجي *JELÂL ED-DÎN FÎRÛZ SHÂH KHILJI.*

I. AREA. السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا و الدين
Sultanus maximus *Jelâl ed-duniya wa ed-dîn.* COPPER, An. 688-695.

II. AREA. *Fîrûz Shâh.* فيروز شاه

MARGIN. Illegible.

Although there is no perceptible date on this coin, it is ascertained to belong to the second *Fîrûz* by the addition of his surname, which was wanting on the coins assigned to *Fîrûz* I. The place of coinage does not appear.

DCCI.

(1) *Ferishtah* states him to have been the son of *Nâser ed-dîn Baghrâ Khân* (the son of *Balîn*), and that he was eighteen years of age at his accession.

DCCI.—DCCIII.

علا الدين محمد شاه سكندر الثاني *ALÁ ED-DÍN MUHÁMMED SHÁH SEKANDER AS-SÁNI.*

GOLD, An. 704.

I. AREA. السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

Sultanus maximus *Ala ed-duniya wa ed-dín Abu al-Mozaffer Muhammed Shâh* sultanus.

II. AREA. سكندر الثاني ناصر لمنير الخلافة امير المومنين

Sekander alter, adjutor illustrans *al-khalâfat* (vicariatûs) imperatoris fidelium.

MARGIN. ..... بحضرة دهلي في سنه اربع و .....

..... in aula præsentiæ *Dehli*, anno (70)4 (1304). 6 dw. 23½ gr.

..... سنه ثمان عشر و سبع مايه

..... anno 718 (1318). 6 dw. 20 gr. 7 dw. 4 gr.

This sultan, the nephew and successor of *Jelâl ed-dín Fírúz*, and second of the *Khilji* race, was distinguished not less by his atrocious cruelties than by his military skill, power, and magnificence, in which he surpassed his predecessors on the throne of *Dehli*. His extraordinary wealth arose from the conquest of the Hindu sovereigns of the Dekan and plunder of *Karnata*, the principal kingdom of the peninsula, as well by himself in person, as by his general named *Kafúr*, who in the year 711 returned to the capital with immense spoils. On this occasion gold to a very large amount is said by *Ferishtah* to have been sent to the mint for coinage.(1) Of his gold money there are three specimens in the collection, with six of silver; and opportunities have occurred to me of seeing many more of both metals.

Of

(1) Dow, History of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 307. 8vo.

Of the date no other numeral than اربع 4, in the place of units, appears on one of the specimens, the remainder of the marginal sentence being cut off (as frequently happens) by unequal striking. To infer that by this should be understood the year 704 might be thought hazardous, were it not that upon a specimen not belonging to the collection, which I have examined, and of which a drawing is now before me, I read, more fully سنه اربع و سبعمايه, anno 704. This date, it is true, precedes that of the rich conquests just spoken of; but it should be observed, that not long before the death of *Fírúz* the late sultan, *Ala*, as his general, had conducted an army into the territory of a king of the Dekan, named *Ramdeo*, whose capital *(Deogur)* he plundered, and from whence he returned, in 695, with a vast quantity of the precious metals. On the second of my specimens the date of 718 is distinct. GOLD, AD. 704.

The occasion of this sultan's assuming the title of a second Alexander, is thus explained by *Ferishtah:* "In the third year of the reign of *Ala*, when prosperity shone upon his arms, he began to form some extraordinary projects .... He proposed to leave a viceroy in India, and, like the great Secunder, to undertake the conquest of the world. In consequence of this he assumed the title of *Secunder Sani*, which was struck upon the currency of the empire."(1)

The sentence which forms the inscription on these coins is continued from the area on one side to that on the other. A word occurring in the latter appears, from a comparison of all the specimens, to be intended for لمنير, in the sense of 'illustrans s. qui illustrat,' who communicates splendour to the khalifat, by his protection; but that its meaning is not obvious is shewn by the erroneous interpretation of a native, which accompanied one of them from India, where it is confounded with امير imperator. We find, however, in the Journal Asiatique of Paris (t. III. p. 273, avec Planche, p. 321) the inscriptions of five Bengal coins, struck at a period not remote from the above, in which an analogous word is read, and with apparent correctness, يمين 'main droite.' But it is necessary to observe that in No. 4 of these (the only one with which a satisfactory

(1) Dow, vol. I. p. 280.

GOLD, An. 704. factory comparison can be made) the initial letter, preceding the م, has a curve to the right, essential (in that combination) to the form of the ي and to its being distinguished from the ل: whereas on all the coins of *Ala ed-dîn*, which are numerous and remarkably fair, the stroke is perpendicular, and there are no diacritical points beneath that part, as there are to the latter syllable. If, notwithstanding, the reading of يمين be thought the more correct, the legend of Area II. should run thus; سكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المومنين 'Sekander alter, dexter vicariatûs, adjutor s. defensor imperatoris fidelium.'

DCCV.—DCCX.

علا الدين سكندر الثاني *ALA ED-DÎN SEKANDER AS-SÂNI.*

SILVER, An. 710.714. I. and II. AREAS. As in the preceding gold coin.

II. MARGIN. سنه عشرو سبعمايه .....

..... anno 710 (1310). 6 dw. 21½ gr.

ضرب هذه القضيه بحضرة ... سنه اربع عشرو سبعمايه .

Cuditur hic .... in aulâ præsentiæ (*Dehli*) anno 714 (1314). 6 dw. 23 gr.

ضرب هذه الا .... سنه .... و سبعمايه

Cuditur hic ..... anno ..... 7 dw.

..... صيه بحضرة دهلي سنه ثمان .....

..... aulâ præsentiæ *Dehli*, anno .. 8. (1308?). 6 dw. 19 gr.

ضرب هذه القضيه بلاده س ..... مايه

Cuditur hic .... in civitate *S*..... 6 dw. 22½ gr.

ضرب هذه القضيه بلاده سر ... سنه احد عشرو سبعمايه

Cuditur hic ..... in civitate *Sar* ... anno 711 (1311). 7 dw. 2 gr.

The

The greater part of these silver coins appear to have been struck at *Dehli*, as were the gold, but two of them are from the mint of an unascertained city, the name of which seems to commence with the characters سر, following the term of بلده. The most peculiar word, however, is one that is found more or less distinctly on three or four of the specimens, expressing the denomination of the coin, which, at that period, is unknown to us; the term of درهم *dirhem* having fallen into disuse, and that of روپیه *rupíah* not having been introduced till about two hundred and fifty years later. The characters that compose it are as distinct as the mode of writing, without a regular application of the diacritical points, will admit, and may be read القضیه; in which sense, however, we have no authority for the use of the word. SILVER, An. 710.714.

Ala ed-dín being the nephew, and not the son of a sultan, the filiation is omitted on his coinage also.

DCCXI.

علاالدین محمد شاه *ALA-ED-DIN MUHAMMED SHÁH.*

I. and II. AREAS. السلطان الاعظم علا الدنیا و الدین محمد شاه
Sultanus maximus *Ala ed-duniya wa ed-dín Muhammed Sháh.* COPPER, An. 695-716.

In this small copper coin, of which there are several specimens, the name of *Muhammed Sháh*, occupying the Area of II., is inclosed within a double circle. The Margin appears to contain characters, which, however, are not legible. In another, of the same general description, the former part is divided between the two sides, omitting the name of *Muhammed Sháh*. A third variety has the words disposed in the following manner: السلطان الاعظم علا الدنیا و الدین : ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان ۷۱۴ "Sultanus maximus *Ala ed-dunía wa ed-dín : abu'l-Mozaffer Muhammed Sháh* sultanus, 714."

DCCXII.

قطب الدين مُبارك شاه خلجي *KOTB ED-DÎN MUBÂRIK SHÂH KHILJI.*

COPPER, An. 717.721.

I. AREA. سلطان الاعظم قطب الدنيا و الدين
Sultanus maximus *Kotb ed-duniya wa ed-dîn*

II. AREA. مُبارك شاه السلطان بن السلطان
Mubârik Shâh sultanus filius sultani.

Upon the death of *Ala ed-dîn*, in the tenth month of the year 716, *Kafûr*, the chief eunuch, deprived his eldest and second sons of their sight, and placed on the throne the youngest, named *Omar*, in preference to *Mubârik*, the third son, whom he subsequently attempted to destroy. In this, however, he failed, and became the victim of his own machinations. *Mubârik* was then placed at the head of the government, although nominally as the minister of his younger brother; but he soon claimed his hereditary rights, and ascended the throne in the first month of the year 717.

A gold coin of this sultan, with a fuller inscription and the date of 720, has been described by Professor Fraehn, Num. Kuf. ex var. Museis selecti, p. 80. In other specimens of his copper coinage some variations are perceived.

DCCXIII.

غياث الدين تغلق شاه *GHEIÂS ED-DIN TUGHLIK SHÂH.*

I. Area. السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين — Copper, An. 721-725.
Sultanus maximus *Gheiâs ed-duniya wa ed-din*

II. Area. *Tughlik shâh.* تغلق شاه

The legend of this small copper coin does not express either date or place. Another specimen has the following inscription : سلطان تغلق شاه دار الملك دهلي ' Sultanus *Tughlik Shâh :* sede regali *Dehli.*' The diversity in the phrase makes it not improbable that one of the coins may have belonged to *Tughlik* the second, who reigned in 790. In such a case, however, it is usual to annex the word ثاني *sâni* secundus ; and as he sat on the throne for little more than five months, his coinage must be proportionably rare.

DCCXIV.—DCCXV.

محمد شاه بن تغلق *MUHAMMED SHÂH BEN TUGHLIK.*

I. Area. الواثق بتأييد الرحمن محمد شاه السلطان — Gold, An. 726.
Firmus gratiâ Misericordis (Dei), *Muhammed Shâh* sultanus.

Margin. ضرب هذا الدينار بحضرة دهلي
سنه ست و عشرين و سبعمايه
Cuditur hic denarius in aula præsentiæ Dehli, anno 726 (1326).

GOLD, An. 726. II. AREA. اشهد ان لااله الا الله و اشهد أن محمد عبده و رسوله

Testor non esse deum præter Deum, et testor Muhammed esse servum ejus et legatum ejus. 8 dw. 6 gr.

This remarkably perfect gold piece of *Muhammed Shâh* the son of *Tughlik*, presents some peculiarities. Its weight is considerably greater than that of any preceding gold coin of the sovereigns of Dehli, and in its marginal inscription it is distinctly termed a *dînâr;* which has not elsewhere occurred. The expression of الواثق بتأييد الرحمن, denoting his 'security in the assistance of the All-merciful,' which is here employed for the first time, will be found to occur frequently in the sequel. The sentence occupying the Area of II. is a part of the اذان *adzân* or exhortation to prayers cried from the turrets of the mosques, with some slight variations, amongst which it may be remarked that instead of the particle ان 'ut,' following the verb اشهد 'testor,' the characters are plainly لز, which have no apparent meaning, and we are obliged to presume a graphical mistake in joining the letters. If separated, the first would not materially differ from ا, and that the latter might be intended for ن, we have an example in the final character of the word رحمن. The literary ignorance of the artist, although the engraving has merit, is shewn in his using the initial (ه) instead of the final (ه) in the word شاه. The word indubitably intended for الاسلام 'fidei,' is here and elsewhere represented by a peculiar flourish of lines formed into a knot, but will occasionally, on subsequent coins, be found in distinct characters.

The great wealth of this sultan in the early part of his reign (which began in 725) arose from the plunder of *Karnata* and the peninsula in general, over which his conquests extended. His profusion, at the same time, was equal to his riches, and amongst the presents to one officer he is reported to have given 'a crore or ten millions of golden rupihs.' This lavish expenditure was attended with its natural consequence, an exhausted treasury, and ruinous expedients to replenish it. "The king, says the historian, unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas upon currency from a Chinese custom of using paper upon the emperor's credit with

with the royal seal appended, for ready money.(1) Mahommed, instead of paper, struck a copper coin, which being issued at an imaginary value, he made current by a decree throughout Hindostan..... Public credit could not long subsist in a state so liable to revolutions..... Murmurs and confusion arose throughout the empire. The emperor, to ease the minds of the people, was obliged to call in the copper currency." Dow, vol. I. p. 338. GOLD, An. 726.

On a small copper coin of this sultan, which may possibly be a specimen of his forced currency, we find on one side his name, محمد بن تغلق *Muhammed ben Tughlik;* and on the other, certain words which, although distinctly formed, do not present an intelligible meaning.

DCCXVI.

محمد شاه بن تغلق *MUHAMMED SHÁH BEN TUGHLIK.*

I. AREA. في عهد محمد بن تغلق GOLD, An. 736.

Mandato (s. tempore) *Muhammed* filii *Tughlik.*

MARGIN. بحضرة دهلي سنه ست و ثلثين و سبعمايه

In aulâ præsentiæ *Dehli,* anno 736.

II. AREA. والله الغني وا . . . الفقر . .

Per Deum dives et . . . . pauper . . . 7 dw.

It

(1) I may be allowed to observe that this measure was adopted at Dehli, little more than thirty years after the return of the POLO family from China, and that previously to this, a few years after their arrival at the seat of the Moghul princes of Persia, the system of a paper currency had been introduced into that country. "On prétend (says De Guignes, speaking of the death of the grandson of *Hulagu,* which took place in 1295) qu'un des principaux motifs de la révolte est que ce prince vouloit établir dans ses états des monnoyes de carton comme à la Chine." Hist. des Huns, liv. XVII. p. 267.

GOLD, AD. 736. It does not appear from the history of the period for what reason this gold coin is said in the legend to have been struck, at Dehli, by the *delegated* authority (as the terms imply) of the sultan; as it was not till three years later (739) that he removed the seat of government from that great city to *Deogur*, in the Dekkan, the name of which he changed to *Daulat abâd.*

The moral sentence on the Reverse, probably taken from the Korân, is not in some parts distinctly legible.

One of the most remarkable circumstances that occurred in the reign of this sultan was his recognition of the Abbassite khalifat, which, having been extinguished at *Baghdâd* in 656 (1258), was three years afterwards revived in Egypt, by the policy of the Mamluk rulers of that country, although with very limited powers. Of the superstitious zeal by which his conduct was influenced in this transaction, the following account is given in the *Tarikh-i Ferishtah.*(1) "In the year 743 (says the historian) doubts arose in the mind of the sultan, regarding the legality of his title to the sovereignty of India, unsanctioned as it was by the consent of a khalif of the house of *Al-Abbâs.* Whilst deliberating on the means by which this defect could be repaired, he obtained information that the rulers of Egypt (مصر) had been induced from certain considerations to raise an individual of the race to the honours of the khalifat.(2) Having satisfied himself of this, he instantly did homage, in secret, to the exalted personage, whose name he ordered to be placed on the coinage instead of his own. He likewise prohibited throughout the city the public reading of the customary prayers on the weekly days of assembly and the festivals,

(1) This passage in *Ferishtah's* history of Hindustan has been lately brought into notice by the learned author of the 'Muhammedanische Münzkabinet' from Dow's translation of the work; but as the latter has committed some mistakes, particularly in styling the khalif to whom the sultan sent an ambassador, calipha of *Mecca*, and the country where he resided, Arabia, instead of *Misr* or Egypt, I have thought it necessary, on account of the historical importance of the fact, to furnish the reader with a more correct version.

(2) As the acknowledgment by the Mamluk government, of an Abbassite khalif in Egypt, took place no less than eighty-four years previously to these scruples and inquiries, we have a proof of the little connexion of a political or even of a commercial nature that subsisted between these upper provinces of India and the countries bordering on the Mediterranean.

tivals, and having employed two or three months in preparing a suitable address to the khalif, at length dispatched it to Egypt." GOLD, An. 736.

"In 744 the messenger returned, and along with him came the *Sáïd Sarsarî* سعيد صرصري, who was the bearer of a diploma from the khalif, investing the sultan with full possession of the government, together with a royal dress. On this occasion he advanced ten or twelve miles to meet the *Sáïd* (descendant of the Prophet) attended by the whole body of nobles and men of the learned professions. After kissing the feet of the holy man, he placed the diploma of the khalif on his own head, and marched with it several paces on foot. In honour of it he caused commemorative buildings to be erected in the city, and scattered money amongst the people. He directed that the public prayers, which had for a time been suspended, should be resumed on the appointed days, and the name of the khalif should be pronounced in the *khutbah*; excluding therefrom the names of all the former sultans of Dehli, even that of his own father, who had not reigned with the necessary sanction. On the embroidered borders of his robes and on the friezes of his buildings the khalif's name was displayed. With his own hand he wrote an address, containing numberless expressions of humility and submissive homage, and having selected from the jewels of his treasury a precious gem of incomparable beauty, he gave it, together with the writing, in charge to the messenger, in order to their being delivered to the khalif, in Egypt."

It happens that the dates of the specimens of coinage of this reign, in the collection, are not sufficiently late to afford a corroboration of the intercourse mentioned by the historian, but on that of subsequent reigns we shall generally find some mark of homage to the Egyptian khalifat. It is proper also to notice that on one of the small copper coins of *Kotb ed-dîn Mubârik Shâh*, who reigned a few years before this sultan (717 to 721), the word خليفه *khalîfah* may be distinguished, although probably without any reference to the new or Egyptian dynasty.

In the Museum of the East-India Company there are three or four specimens, more or less imperfect, of a silver coin, on which we read: "I. AREA. خلد ملكه شاه السلطان . . . . شهاب الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر . . . المويد . . . *Al-muwayed* (confirmatus) . . . *Shehâb ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l-Mozaffer* . . . *shâh* sultanus. Perpetuum sit regnum suum. II. AREA. ناصر (عهد) المسلمين

Protector

GOLD, AD. 736. Protector (fœderis) verè credentium." The inscription on the latter side is particularly indistinct; that of the margin is illegible, and no date can be discovered; but as the name or title of the sultan (signifying stella lucida fidei) is one of rare occurrence, we can scarcely be mistaken in attributing it to the son of *Ala ed-dîn Muhammed Shâh*, who, in Dow's translation of *Ferishtah* is simply named *Omar*, but in the *Ayin Akbari*, *Shehâb ed-dîn*, and in one of the useful lists annexed to Gladwin's Persian vocabulary, *Shehâb ed-dîn Omar*. He succeeded to the throne of his father in the year 716–1316, and reigned for a few months.

In a small but curious collection formed by Mrs. Welland, whilst in the upper provinces of Hindustan, I find several gold coins of *Fîrûz Shâh*, who reigned from 752 to 790, and left monuments of his greatness, of the most useful as well as the most splendid kind: their inscriptions are the following: I. AREA. فيروز شاه سلطاني ..... *Fîrûz Shâh Sultânî* (imperialis). II. AREA. ضرب هذه السكه . . في زمان الامام ابو العباس احمد خلد ملكه Cuditur hæc moneta diebus *al-imâm* (antistitis) *Abu'l-Abbâs Ahmed.* Perpetuum sit regnum suum." 7 dw. 2 gr. "I. and II. AREAS. في زمام الامام امير المومنين الحاكم بامرالله ابو العباس احمد خلد ملكه Diebus *al-imâm* imperatoris fidelium *Al-Hâkem beamrillâh Abu'l-Abbâs Ahmed.* Perpetuum sit regnum suum." 7 dw. Both of these are without date, but as it is expressed that they were struck during the khalifat of *Al-Hâkem* (of the second Abbassite or Egyptian dynasty), and his death is known to have taken place in 753, it follows that the date of the coinage must have been in the first or second year of the reign of *Fîrûz Shâh.* It is remarkable that the latter piece does not contain the name of the sultan, the legend on both sides being engrossed with the titles of the khalif, to whose sacred character, as an orthodox mussulman, he appears to have been zealously devoted.

A third, of the same prince, bears this more circumstantial legend. "I. AREA. .... السلطان الاعظم سيف امير المومنين ابن المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان Sultanus maximus gladius imperatoris fidelium *Abu'l-Mozaffer Fîrûz Shâh* sultanus ... II. AREA. في زمان الامام امير المومنين ابو الفتح خلد خلافته Diebus *al-imâm* imperatoris fidelium *Abu'l-fat-ha.* Perpetuus sit vicariatus ejus. MARGIN. ..... ضرب هذه السكه سبعماية Cuditur hæc moneta ..... 7(61)–1359." 7 dw. 2½ gr. As the preceding gold money referred to the khalifat

khalifat of *Abu'l-Abbâs*, who died in 753, so does the present to that of his successor, *Abu'lfat-ha*, which terminated in 763. Of the date no more can be distinguished than the century; but it is evident, in the first place, that it must have been struck within the period of those two dates, and as we learn from *Ferishtah* that in the early part of the year 761, whilst on the frontier of Bengal, he received from the khalif the insignia of investiture, we are not likely to err much in assigning to this coin the date of that year in which he was so honoured.(1) A peculiarity deserving of remark is his assumption, on the occasion, of the title of '*Seif amîr al-mûmenîn* gladius imperatoris fidelium,' which it is probable he was authorised to do by the diploma. The *prænomina* given to him in the list of sultans, on the authority of Dow and Gladwin, do not appear on his coinage. GOLD, An. 726.

On a fourth specimen, more rude in point of workmanship than those just described, and somewhat lighter in weight, we read this short inscription continued from " I. to II. AREA. فيروز شاه سلطاني نائيب امير المومنين ٧٨٨ *Fîrûz Shâh* sultanus s. imperialis, vicarius imperatoris fidelium. 788 (1386). 6 dw. 23½ gr.: and here we must again notice the singularity of adopting, near the close of his long reign, the character or office of *nâib*, deputy or substitute to the commander of the faithful: a measure suggested, perhaps, by the inefficient state into which the Egyptian khalifat had fallen.

(1) " Ferose, in the year 760, resolved upon another expedition to Bengal. Having arrived at Zifferabad, he cantoned there his army during the rains. When he lay at this place, Bustami, who had been banished, returned embassador from the Calipha of Egypt, with a chelat (*khelât*); for which he was graciously received." Dow, vol. I. p. 367.

DCCXVII.

فيروز شاه بن سالار *FÍRÛZ SHÁH BEN SÁLÁR.*

COPPER, An. (753).

I. and II. AREAS. الحاكم بامرالله ابو العباس احمد

Al-Hâkem beamrillah Abu'l-Abbâs Ahmed. 2 dw. 6 gr.

It is obvious from the nature of the inscription, which omits the name of the sultan, that this small copper coin was struck under the same circumstances and at the same period as the second of the gold coins just described, that is, between the accession of *Fírûz* and the death of the khalif *Al-Abbâs Ahmed*, the second of that name, which took place in 753.

DCCXVIII.

فيروز شاه بن سالار *FÍRÛZ SHÁH BEN SÁLÁR.*

COPPER or BILLON, An. 783.

I. AREA. فيروز شاه سلطاني ضرب دهلي بنام

II. AREA. الخليفه امير المومنين خلد خلافته ٧٨٣

Fírûz Shâh sultanus, s. regalis. Cuditur in *Dehli*, nomine (sub auspiciis) *khalífah* imperatoris fidelium. Perpetuus sit vicariatus ejus. 783 (1381). 5 dw. 19 gr. 2 dw. 7½ gr.

In the legend of this coin respect is shewn to the paramount authority of the khalifat, but without expressing, as had been customary, the name of the person by whom the functions were exercised; which may be attributed to the uncertainty produced by the frequent revolutions that took place, under a turbulent dynasty, both in the civil and the ecclesiastical

tical government of Egypt.(1) It may be noticed also, that on most of the coins of this reign, instead of the word being السلطان, as usual, in the substantive form, it is made to terminate in the adjective سلطاني; as if, from affected humility, it was intended to disclaim the title of sovereign. COPPER or BILLON, An. 783.

Two specimens, having the same inscription, are, with respect to weight, in the proportion of about 12 to 5. Their denominations, at that period, are not well ascertained, and the more especially as the copper of the larger piece seems to have a trifling admixture of silver. The smaller would in modern times be termed a پيسا *peisá* or *paisá*, vulgarly pice.

DCCXIX.—DCCXXII.

محمد شاه بن فيروز شاه *MUHAMMED SHÂH BEN FÎRÛZ SHÂH.*

I. AREA. السلطان الاعظم ابو محامد محمد شاه
بن فيروز شاه سلطاني

SILVER, An. 793-796.

Sultanus maximus *Abu Muhâmid* (s. laudabilium operum pater)
Muhammed Shâh ben Fîrûz Shâh sultânî.

II. AREA. في زمن الامام امير المومنين خلد خلافته

Tempore *al-imâm.* imperatoris fidelium. Perpetuus sit vicariatus ejus.
7 dw. $4\frac{3}{4}$ gr. 7 dw. 6 gr. 7 dw. 5 gr. &c.

As *Fîrûz Shâh*, according to the historians, died in 790, and his son *Muhammed Shâh* in 796, the date of this coin, of which there are no fewer

(1) Although the latter was in general merely the instrument of the former, yet, either from superstition or the influence of popular opinion, the sultans were restrained from proceeding to any violent extremity with the pontifs. "A l'égard du khalif, observes De Guignes, le sultan (*Barkok*) fit assembler les cadhis pour sçavoir d'eux s'il étoit permis de le faire mourir; on décida que non; on se contenta de l'enchaîner dans un endroit du château, et on mit à sa place Ouathec." "Et rendit à Motaouakkel le titre de khalif, dont il l'avoit dépouillé quelque tems auparavant." Hist. des Huns, t. v. liv. XXII. p. 255. 261.

SILVER, An. 793-796.

fewer than six specimens in the collection, should fall between those two periods. It happened, indeed, that in 789 the reins of government had been committed to the hands of the latter by his aged parent, but as the *khutbah* (*Ferishtah* tells us) was pronounced in the joint names of the father and the son, it is to be presumed that the same forms were observed with respect to the coinage; and as the name of *Muhammed*, with only the usual term of filiation, here stands singly, we cannot refer the money to that portion of his reign, nor is it likely, in fact, to have preceded the year 793, when, after being excluded by his two nephews in succession, he at length obtained full possession of the throne of *Dehli*. The usual aid to such approximations might have been looked for in the corresponding years of the khalifat, but the title alone, and not the name of the individual, appears in the inscription; nor is this to be wondered at, when we consider that the vast distance between the two countries must have rendered the knowledge of events passing at Cairo extremely imperfect.

Such is the fair inference, with regard to the probable date, to be drawn from the historical accounts of the period, combined with the names as they are found on the coin, and of which the correctness, within two or three years, can scarcely admit of any doubt. Yet a difficulty that I am quite unable to explain, presents itself on some of the specimens, where we perceive, in characters rude indeed, but sufficiently distinct, the numeral figures ٧١٧ 717 on one, and . ١٨ (7)18 on a second. On the others, from the usual inequality of striking, these characters, whatever their import may be, are nearly or altogether invisible. The opportunity of examining a greater variety of specimens may perhaps afford the means of explaining this apparent anachronism.

A peculiarity may be observed in the use of the word زمن *zemn* tempus (tempore, diebus) instead of the more usual term of زمان *zemân*. The former, however, is fully authorised.

There is also a small copper coin of this reign, but without date, having the following inscription: محمد شاه سلطاني دار الملك دهلي *Muhammed Shâh* sultanus (s. imperialis): Sede regali *Dehli*.

DCCXX.

DCCXX.

سكندر شاه همايون *SEKANDER SHÁH HUMÁYUN.*

I. Area. شاه همايون السلطان .....
..... *Shâh Humâyûn*, sultanus.

Copper, An. 796.

II. Area. الدين المعظم .....
..... *Al-Mòazem ed-dîn.*

The name of *Humâyûn*, which appears on this coin, can apply to no other than the son of *Muhammed Shâh*, the duration of whose reign, in the year 796, was only forty-five days. For whom the epithet of *Mòazem*, on the reverse, was intended, does not appear, but it was the usual designation of his grandfather, sultan *Fîrûz* III.

DCCXXI.—DCCXXIII.

محمود شاه بن محمد شاه *MAHMÚD SHÁH BEN MUHAMMED SHÁH.*

I. Area. السلطان الاعظم ابو محامد محمود شاه
(بن) محمد شاه (بن) فيروز شاه السلطان
Sultanus maximus *Abu Mahâmid Mahmûd Shâh*, (*ben*) *Muhammed Shâh*, (*ben*) *Firûz Shâh al-sultân.*

Silver, An. 796-816

II. Area. في زمن الامام امير المومنين خلا خلافته
Tempore *al-imâm* imperatoris fidelium. Perpetuus sit vicariatus ejus. 7 dw. 4½ gr.

Upon

SILVER, An. 796-816.

Upon the death of *Muhammed Shâh* his immediate successor was his son *Humâyún*, who took the surname of *Sekander;* but his reign, as before stated, was merely ephemeral. Under these circumstances the great officers placed upon the throne another son, a mere youth, to whom they gave the title of *Mahmûd Shâh.* He was only a pageant in their hands, and during the contentions of rival parties in the state, often experienced those reverses which attend civil war. But a more signal calamity awaited him and his unfortunate empire. In the year 801–1397 he was driven from *Dehli* by the arms of the renowned *Tímûr*, who ordered or connived at a general plunder of the city and massacre of its inhabitants; but upon the retreat of that scourge of the human race, by whom the country was rather overrun than conquered, *Mahmûd* returned to his capital, and occupied the throne until the year 816. With his inglorious and little more than nominal reign, the *Khilji* line of this Turkish dynasty terminated.

In the work of Dow, and in Gladwin's list, the title of *Nâser ed-dîn* is given as well to *Muhammed* as to *Mahmûd Shâh.* It does not appear on the money of the former, nor upon this coin, which, from its perfect resemblance to the other, may be considered as the first of *Mahmûd's* reign. On both, however, is seen the epithet, rather than titular name, of *Abu Mahâmid*, denoting a virtue (the founding of magnificent works for religious and charitable purposes) that belonged in an especial manner to their ancestor, whose name, the grandson, contrary to usual custom, was proud to add to those on his coinage.

There are also two small square copper coins that from some circumstances appear to belong to this sultan, although not warranted by others. On one of them we read the words محمود شاه خلجي *Mahmûd Shâh Khîlji*, followed, on the same side, by some characters not perfectly legible: and on the other, محمود بن غياث شاه *Mahmûd ben Gheiâs Shâh;* which is inapplicable. On the Reverses of both we find the words سلطان بن السلطان sultanus fil. sultani.

DCCXXIV.—DCCXXVI.

محمود شاه *MAHMÛD SHÂH.*

I. Area. السلطان العادل ناصر الدنيا و الدين
ابو المجاهد محمود شاه السلطان
Silver, An 796-816.

Sultanus justus *Nâser ed-dunira wa ed-dîn abû al-mujâhid* (bellator eximius pro fide) *Mahmûd shâh* sultanus.

II. Area. المؤيّد . . . الرحمن خليفه بالله مجحر لله و الفان

Confirmans s. confirmatus . . . . . Misericordis (sc. Dei). Vicarius Dei gratia . . et evanidus? 6 dw. 21 gr. 6 dw. 20½ gr. 6 dw. 21 gr.

The type of this silver coin of the same sultan differs so much from that of the preceding as to warrant the supposition of their having been struck at distant intervals; before and after the invasion of his dominions by *Tîmûr*. The inscription on the Reverse (of three specimens) is obscure, and the reading doubtful; but the words seem to bear some allusion to the circumstance of his restoration to the throne in 804–1401.

DCCXXVII.

محمد شاه بن فريد خان *MUHAMMED SHÂH BEN FERÎD KHÂN.*

I. Area. سلطان محمد شاه خلد الله ملكه
श्री महमद शाह
Silver, An. 837-850

Margin. Date not legible. سنه عر . . و . . .

II. Area.

SILVER, An. 837-850.

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. Names and attributes of the four successors (imperfect.)
7 dw. $9\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

Upon the assassination of sultan *Mubârik Shâh* in the year 837, the conspirators raised to the throne his nephew, the grandson of sultan *Khizer*, who took the name of *Muhammed Shâh*, and reigned to the year 850. His name in the *nagri* character on this coin, is the first instance that has occurred of what became a practice at a subsequent period.

DCCXXVIII.

سكندر شاه بن بهلول لودي *SEKANDER SHÂH BEN BEHLÔLI LÔDI.*

COPPER, An. 894.

I. AREA. المنور . . الرحمن سكندر شاه بن بهلول السلطان

Al-mennawar . . al-rahman (quem Deus illuminat?) *Sekander shâh ben Behlôli*, sultanus.

II. AREA. . . . في . . . . امير المومنين خلد الخلافة ٨٩٣

. . . . . imperator fidelium. Perpetuus sit vicariatus suus.
894 (1488). 914 (1508).

Of this sultan, who succeeded to the throne of *Dehli* upon the decease of his father *Behlôli*, the coins are numerous, and their comparison serves to supply some defective parts in the legend of each; yet still much uncertainty attends the reading of his title, which precedes the name of *Sekander;* and that of the Egyptian khalif, on the Reverse, cannot be deciphered.

The successful wars in which *Sekander* was engaged with *Husein* of *Jaunpûr*, for the recovery of the eastern provinces, have already been noticed. In the year 912 he transferred the seat of government from *Dehli* to *Agrah.*

DCCXXIX.

فريد الدين شير شاه *FERÍD ED-DÍN SHÍR SHÂH.*

SILVER, An. 945.

I. AREA. شير شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

Shîr Shâh sultanus. Perpetuet Deus regnum et imperium ejus.

MARGIN. Illegible. ۹۴۵ 945 (1538).

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. (ابوبكر) عمر عثمان علي

Abu-bekr . Omar . Othmân . Alì (imperfect). 6 dw. 21 gr.

This distinguished adventurer, who possessed many of the qualities of a great sovereign, having raised himself to eminence by his talents, and forced the Moghul emperor *Humâyûn* to withdraw from Hindustan, assumed the imperial title and coined money in his own name, of which the earliest specimen is this rupih of the year 945.(1) The form of the characters and the execution generally are more correct than in the coinage of the preceding sultans, but the specimen has suffered from being in circulation.

The names of the four Successors of the Prophet, in the Margin of II. afford proof of *Shîr shâh*, in common with other *Afghâns*, having adhered to the political faith of the *sunnîh* or orthodox class of Mahometans.

(1) "Rupeeah روپيه (says the Ayin Akbari) is a silver coin of a round form, in weight 11¼ *mashahs*. It was first introduced in the time of Sheer Khan, and under the present reign (that of Akbar) it has been revived and made more pure." Vol. I. p. 34. "The most common silver coin (Sir James Steuart observes) is the Rupee of one sicca or 10 massa weight, and of the fineness of $\frac{98}{100}$ ..... The sicca weight is equal to 7 dw. $11\frac{55}{100}$ grains." On the Coin of Bengal, p. 15.

DCCXXX.—DCCXXXII.

شیر شاہ *SHÎR SHÁH.*

SILVER, An. 946.

I. AREA, SQUARE. As in the preceding. ۹۴۶ 946 (1539).

श्री शेर शाही *Shrî Shêr Shâhî.*

SIDES. فرید الدنیا و الدین ابو المظفر

Ferîd ed-duniya wa ed-dîn (gemma singularis mundi et fidei) *Abu'l Mozaffer.*

II. AREA, SQUARE. Third symbol.

Sultanus justus. السلطان العادل

SIDES. Names of the Four Successors.

7 dw. 7 gr. 7 dw. 5 gr. 7 dw. 9 gr.

In the style of workmanship this rupih differs considerably from the preceding, and contains in addition, at the bottom of Area II., the words rendered by 'sultanus justus;' but the chief peculiarity to be noticed in this and subsequent specimens of the money coined by *Shîr Shâh* and his immediate descendants (in imitation of one of his predecessors) is the attention shewn to their Hindu subjects in having their names inscribed in the *nâgrî* as well as in the Arabic character; a judicious policy, in which their example was not followed even by the enlightened and tolerant *Akbar*.

It is remarkable that the names of the Four Khalifs stand in the inverse order of their actual succession, and must be read from the right hand towards the left.

A rupih of the year 947 and another of 949 vary but little from this, in their inscriptions or general appearance.

DCCXXXIII.

DCCXXXIII.

شير شاه *SHÎR SHÂH.*

I. AREA, CIRCULAR. شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
Shîr shâh sultanus. Perpetuet Deus, &c.

SILVER, An. 949.

MARGIN. فريد الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر ۹۴۹
Ferîd ed-duniya wa ed-dîn abu al-Mozaffer. 949 (1542).

श्री शेर शाही

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. Names of Four Successors.
Sultanus justus. اسلطان العادل 7 dw. 7½ gr.

This rupih, which is of the same date as the last of the preceding, differs from it in no other circumstance than the circular disposition of the legends.

DCCXXXIV.

شير شاه *SHÎR SHÂH.*

I. AREA. ابو المظفر شير شاه السلطان خلد الله (ملكه)
Abu Al-Mozaffer Shîr Shâh sultanus. Perpetuet Deus regnum ejus.

COPPER, An. 949.

II. AREA. في عهد الامير الخليفه لدين الله ۹۴۹
Per auctoritatem s. sub auspiciis imperatoris fidelium *Ledîn-illah.*
949 (1542).

COPPER, An. 949. On this copper coin, of unusual size and weight, the inscription is fuller than we usually find it on coins of that base metal. With respect to the khalif whose paramount authority the sultan acknowledges, there is an obvious and very strange anachronism. *Ledînillah*, the most distinguished amongst the latter khalifs of *Baghdâd*, reigned above three centuries before this period, and the last of the Abbassite khalifs of Egypt, whose name was *Motawakkel alallah Muhammed*, died in 945, four years before the date of the money. We are led from hence to hazard the conjecture that *Shîr Shâh* judged it expedient to strengthen his usurped government by giving to his coinage the sanction of a venerated name, although the khalifat itself had ceased to exist.

DCCXXXV.—DCCXXXVI.

شیر شاہ *SHÎR SHÂH.*

SILVER, An. 950.

I. AREA. As in the rupih of the preceding year.

MARGIN. As in do. ٩٥٠ 950 (1543).

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. As in the preceding rupih. 7 dw. 10 gr. 7 dw. 5½ gr.

There is little of peculiarity in this rupih excepting the mode of forming the word ملکہ, in a sort of knot or flourish. In the numerals also, both here and on the subsequent coinage, may be noticed an unusual shape, resembling a reversed 3, that is given to the ٥ 5, and rendered the more remarkable from the circumstance of a character nearly similar being on some other coins (especially the Ottoman of 1143, Pl. xxv.) used for 4; although differing from the ordinary shape of that figure. Yet no reasonable doubt can be entertained of 5 being the numeral intended on the coins of this family, not only because the 4 and 6 occur in their usual forms,

forms, but also that in the reign of *Islâm Shâh* the son of *Shîr Shâh*, which began in 952 and ended in 960, no other numeral could, for successive years, occupy the place of decimals. SILVER, An. 950.

A rupih of 951 is more perfect than this in its marginal inscriptions.

DCCXXXVII.—DCCXXXVIII.

شیر شاه *SHÍR SHÁH.*

I. AREA. شیر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه ٩٥٢ SILVER, An. 952.

Shír Shâh sultanus. Perpetuet Deus regnum ejus. 952 (1545).

श्री शेरशाह

MARGIN. فرید الدنیا و الدین السلطان العادل ضرب کو. ا

Ferîd ed-duniya wa ed-dîn. Sultanus justus. Cuditur in *Kôrâ?*

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. Names of the Four Successors, with their moral attributes, imperfect. 7 dw. ¼ gr. 7 dw. ¼ gr. 7 dw. 4½ gr.

In this year *Shîr Shâh*, whilst laying siege to the strong fortress of کالنجر *Kalinjer*, not far from *Ilahabâd* and *Kôrâ*, was killed by an explosion of gunpowder in the trenches. On the coin we perceive the letters کو. ا *Kô . â*, which may be presumed to belong to the word کورا *Kôrâ*, the name of the last mentioned place, where it was probably struck.(1)

The moral attributes of the four khalifs who succeeded the Prophet, which occur elsewhere, are here in a very imperfect state.

There

(1) This city and district, to which the epithet of *Jehân-abâd* is generally annexed, must be distinguished from another, likewise in the *Duâb*, but nearer to the confluence of the great rivers, named کرہ *Kurrah* or *Karrah*. The former is the more important of the two.

SILVER, An. 952. There is another rupih of this sultan, but without date, on which are found the same initial characters, following the word ضرب 'cuditur,' and as their weight is precisely the same, we may suppose them to be from the same mint.

DCCXXXIX.

اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه *ISLÂM SHÂH BEN SHÎR SHÂH.*

SILVER, An 952.

I. AREA. اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه سلطان
خلد الله ملكه ٩٥٢

Islâm Shâh ben Shîr Shâh, sultanus, cujus regnum perpetuet Deus.
952 (1545). श्रीइसलामसाहि *Srî Islâm Shâhi.*

MARGIN. جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر سلطان العادل
Jelâl-ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l Mozaffer. Sultanus justus.
لمر ٨٨ . . 88.

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. بصدق ابابكر ا . . . عثمان الفون ؟ علي . . .
Per fidelitatem *Aba-bekr al-* . . . . . *Othmân al* . . . . . *Ali* . . . .
7 dw. 4½ gr.

Islâm Shâh, or, as he is more commonly named by historians, *Selîm,* the younger son of *Shîr Shâh,* succeeded his father on the throne of Hindustan, in this year, 952,(1) and he appears to have followed his example in the cultivation of a good understanding with his Hindu subjects, by making his name current in their language.

In

(1) See Dow, Hist. of Hindostan, vol. II. p. 187.

In one of the compartments of the Margin of I., after his titles, we perceive the numerals ٨٨ 88, the purport of which is not obvious; any more than the characters لمر that immediately precede them. The epithets annexed to the names of the Four Khalifs, in the Margin of II. are here also very imperfect. SILVER, An. 952.

DCCXL.—DCXLVI.

اسلام شاه *ISLÂM SHÂH.*

I. AREA. As in the preceding. ٩٥٤ 954 (1547). SILVER, An. 954.

MARGIN. As in the preceding.

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. بصدق ابابكر النار بعادل عمر الفاروق
.... عثمان الفون بعالم علي المر؟

Per fidelitatem *Aba-bekr* . . . , justitiam *Omar* discriminatoris, ...
Othmân . . . , sapientiam *Ali* . . .
7 dw. 3¾ gr. 7 dw. 2 gr. 7 dw 8 gr. 7 dw. 1½ gr. 7 dw. 6½ gr.

This rupih does not materially differ from the last. The names of the khalifs, successors of the Prophet, are however less imperfect, although some of the epithets belonging to them are still deficient or unintelligible. That of الفاروق 'divisor, discriminator' is well known to have been applied to *Omar*, whilst *Othmân* was distinguished as ذاالنورين 'duabus nitentibus (sc. puellis) potitus,' from the circumstance of his having married two daughters of the Prophet; but this last is not apparent on the coins, nor that of العتيق 'liberatus (à fato), prædestinatus,' attributed by *Muhammed* to his zealous friend *Abu-bekr*. It is remarkable that in the learned works of Reland, D'Herbelot, or Casiri, no satisfactory exposition of these peculiar epithets is to be found.

There

SILVER, An. 954. There is a duplicate rupih of this date, and also one of 955, but not more perfect. On a rupih of 956 we perceive two connected characters or figures at the conclusion of the symbol, that have some resemblance to ع, preceded by what may be thought a ر. Their meaning is not apparent. The marginal inscriptions are very imperfect. Another of the same year, but of superior workmanship, has the numerals expressing 956 in the same part of the area as the two connected characters above described, and preceded in like manner by the letter ر, which may probably be a mint-mark. On a third specimen the ر is followed by an asterisk.

A rupih of 957 also differs in no material point from the others. The continued repetition of the numerals ^^ 88, already noticed, whilst the dates of the coins have progressively advanced, shews that they can have no connexion with any reckoning of time. It is possible that they may denote the proportional parts of fine silver in the standard of the money.

One of 960, the last of *Islâm Shâh's* reign, offers no peculiarity deserving of remark.

DCCXLVII.

محمد عادل شاه *MUHAMMED ADIL SHÂH.*

SILVER, An. 961.

I. AREA. ٩٦١ محمد عادل شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

Muhammed Adil Shâh sultanus. Perpetuet Deus regnum ejus.

961 (1553-4) श्रीमहमदसह *Shrî Mahamad Shâ.*

MARGIN. Not legible.

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. Names of the Four Successors, very imperfect.

7 dw. 9 gr.

Upon

Upon the death of *Islâm Shâh*, in 960, his son, named *Fírúz*, a child of twelve years of age, was placed on the throne, but within three days was murdered by his maternal uncle, who, upon taking possession of the government, assumed the title of *Muhammed Adil Shâh*. This coin was struck in the year after his accession, which was also the last of his short and profligate reign. SILVER, An. 916.

Of sultan *Ibrahîm Súr*, by whom he was succeeded, and with whom this dynasty terminated, there is not any coin in the collection.

KINGS OF THE EAST ملوك شرقي, WHOSE CAPITAL WAS *JAUNPÛR* جونپور

This dynasty owed its existence to the weak and distracted state of the government of *Dehli* about the period of *Timûr's* invasion, when the governors of various provinces seized the opportunity of rendering themselves independent. Under these circumstances it was that the vizir, named *Khôja Jehân* خواجه جهان, who was also *sûbah-dar* or viceroy of *Kanauj*, *Aud*, *Kûra*, and *Jaunpûr*, availed himself of that trust to separate them from the empire of Hindustan, and as their situation is to the eastward of *Dehli* and *Agrah*, the successive chiefs of the dynasty acquired the appellation of ملوك الشرقي 'reges orientis.' Their kingdom, which dates its origin about the year 800, did not subsist for more than a century. In 803 *Khôja Jehân* was succeeded by his adopted son, who assumed the title of *Mubârik Shâh*, and reigned little more than one year, when the government devolved to his brother, *Ibrâhîm Shâh*, whose long and distinguished reign extended to the year 845.

DCCXLVIII.

ابراهيم شاه شرقي *IBRÂHÎM SHÂH SHARKÍ.*

GOLD, An. 804-845.

I. AREA. السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه السلطاني خلد مملكه

Sultanus maximus *Shems ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abû'l Mozaffer Ibrâhîm shâh* regiæ stirpis. Perpetua sit dominatio sua.

II. AREA.

II. Area. في زمن الامام ابو الفتح امير المومنين خلد خلافته

Gold, An. 804-845.

Tempore antistitis *Abu'l Fat'ha* imperatoris fidelium. Perpetuus sit vicariatus ejus.

Margin. ضرب هذا الدينار في سنه احد . . .

Cuditur hic denarius anno . . 1 . 7 dw. $8\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

From the imperfect state of the marginal inscription of this *muhr*, we are ignorant of the year as well as of the place in which it was struck. In other respects the legends are full and perfect, although inferior in point of execution to the copper coinage of the same reign. The specimen was not procured until very lately, when the Plate containing the others of the *Sharki* dynasty had been already engraved; which will account for its not appearing there.

By the title of *Shems ed-dîn* which we find here assumed, this king is little known in history, where he occupies a conspicuous place under his original and proper name of *Ibrâhîm*. On the Reverse the Area is occupied with the name of an Abbassite Khalif of the second race, whose titles at length were *Motádhed-billah Abu'l fat'ha Daúd*. He exercised the functions, but without any temporal power, under the Mamluk sultans of Egypt, from 817 to 845, and was consequently for many years the cotemporary of this Hindostani sultan, who was proud to sanction the usurpation of his family by the authority of a name held sacred amongst the orthodox professors of the Faith.

No coins of either of the *Sharki* rulers who preceded *Ibrâhîm* have been discovered. It may be observed as a peculiarity that the term مملكة 'dominatio' is employed instead of the usual one of ملك 'regnum,' and that the word سلطاني, in the latter part of the sentence, takes the form of an adjective.

DCCXLIX.—DCCL.

ابراهيم شاه شرقي *IBRÂHÎM SHÂH SHARKÍ.*

COPPER, An. 824-845.

I. AREA. ابراهيم شاه سلطاني
Ibrâhîm Shâh sultânî.

II. AREA. ٨٤٥ ٨٣٩ ٨٣٢ ٨٢٤ ابو الفتح خليفه
Abu'l Fat'ha khalîfah. 824 (1421). 836. 839. 845 (1441).

The coins of this dynasty that have been brought into notice are chiefly of copper, and are remarkable for the distinctness of their inscriptions. On several, but not on all of them, the name of the Egyptian khalif will be found.

DCCLI.—DCCLIII.

ابراهيم شاه شرقي *IBRAHÎM SHÂH SHARKÍ.*

COPPER, An. 826.

I. AREA. ابرهيم شاه سلطاني خلد مملكه
Ibráhim Shâh sultânî. Perpetua sit dominatio sua.

II. AREA. الخليفه امير المومنين خلد الخلافته
Khalîfah (vicarius) imperator fidelium. Perpetuus sit vicariatus suus. 826 (1423).

The name of the khalif is here omitted, and the homage is paid to the office, not the individual. Following this number in the Plate will be found engravings of copper coins of the years 836 and 845.

DCCLIV.

DCCLIV.—DCCLV.

محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه شرقي *MAHMÛD SHÂH BEN IBRÂHÎM SHÂH SHARKÎ.*

I. Area. محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه سلطاني خلد مملكه — Copper, An. 846.

Mahmûd Shâh ben Ibrâhîm Shâh, sultânî. Perpetua sit dominatio sua.

II. Area. خليفه ابو الفتح امير المومنين ٨٤٦

Khâlifah Abu'l fat'ha imperator fidelium. 846 (1442).

Of four copper coins of this sultan, struck in the years 845, 846, 849, and 856, the second alone bears the name of the khalif; whose death, however, had taken place in the course of the preceding year. As 845 was the year of *Mahmûd's* accession, it happens that there are coins of the father and of the son bearing the same date.

On the third, or that of 849, the name of محمود شاه *Mahmûd Shâh* occupies a small circle on one side, and is followed, on the other, by the words بن ابراهيم شاه سلطاني ٨٤٩ *ben Ibrâhîm shâh, sultânî,* 849; without any allusion to the khalifat. On the first and fourth there is the formulary prayer for its durability. *Mahmûd* died in 856.

DCCLVI.

حسين شاه بن محمود شاه شرقي *HUSEIN SHÂH BEN MAHMÛD SHÂH SHARKI.*

I. Area. حسين شاه بن محمود شاه بن ابراهيم شاه سلطاني خلد . . . . — Copper, An. 886-897.

Husein Shâh ben Mahmûd Shâh ben Ibrâhîm Shâh, sultânî.
Perpetuum sit . . . .

II. Area.

COPPER, An. 886-897.

II. AREA. الخليفه عبد . . . . امير المومنين
. . . خلافته ٨٦ . ٨٩٧

Al-Khalifah Abd . . . . imperator fidelium . . . . . vicariatus suus.
886. 897 (1491-2).

On all the coins of this sultan we find the name of *Ibrâhîm*, his celebrated grandfather, along with his father's and his own; and generally with much distinctness. *Mahmûd*, however, was succeeded in the first instance by his son *Muhammed*, who, in the same year (856), fell by the hands of conspirators, when *Husein*, his brother, was placed on the throne of *Jaunpûr*.(1) During the course of his long reign he made repeated, but unsuccessful attempts to possess himself of the city of *Dehli*, and after a defensive struggle, in which he experienced many defeats from *Behlôli Lôdi* and his son named *Sekander*, with whom the imperial government had recovered its vigour, he was at length compelled, in 883, to abandon his own capital. Having for some years maintained a precarious independence in the province of *Behar*, he finally took refuge at the court of *Ala ed-dîn Husein Shâh*, sultan of Bengal, where he died about the year 905, and with him terminated this brief, but important dynasty, whose princes are by some native writers, instead of sultans or kings, styled only حكام الشرقي 'dominatores orientales.'

It is remarkable that upon one of these coins, with the date of (8)86, we find the name of the Egyptian khalif, *Abu'l fat'ha*, who died in 845. On others of the same reign this anachronism does not appear.

(1) The translator of the Ayin Akbari writes the name of this sultan, *Husein*, and the translator of Ferishtah, *Hassen*. On the coins it appears to be حسين *Husein*. Some additional circumstances respecting the *Jaunpûr* dynasty will be found in the work of P. Tieffenthaler, published by Bernoulli, t. I. p. 249.

PATAN OR *AFGHÂN* SULTANS AND GOVERNORS OF BENGAL.

		A.H.	A.D.
Muhammed Bakhtiâr Khilji	محمد بختيار خلجي	600	1203

He was appointed by sultan *Kotb ed-dîn* of *Dehli* governor of *Berar*, with orders to subdue Bengal, which he effected in the year 600 or 601, making the city of *Luknauti* or *Gaur* his capital.

Muhammed Sherân Azz ed-dîn	محمد شران عزّ الدين	602	1205
Ali Merdân Ala ed-dîn	علي مردان علا الدين	605	1208
Hasâm ed-dîn Gheiâs ed-dîn	حسام الدين غياث الدين	609	1212
Nâser ed-dîn ben Shems ed-dîn	ناصر الدين ابن شمس الدين	624	1226–7
Mahmûd ben Shems ed-dîn	محمود ابن شمس الدين	627	1229

Being a youth at the time of his appointment, Bengal was governed by his deputies, *Ala-ed-dîn* and *Seif ed-dîn turk.* In 643 he became sultan of Hindustan, by the title of *Nâser ed-dîn Mahmûd.*

Toghan Khân		634	1237

His appointment took place during the reign of Sultana *Rizia.*

Tîji or *Taji*		641	1243

Appointed by *Ala-ed-dîn Masàud.*

Timûr Khân Kerân	تيمور خان	642	1244
Seif ed-dîn	سيف الدين	644	1246
Ikhtiâr ed-dîn Malek Yuzbeg	ملك يوزبك	651	1253
Jelâl ed-dîn Khâni	جلال الدين	656	1257
Tâj ed-dîn Arslân	تاج الدين ارسلان	657	1258
Muhammed Tâtar Khân	محمد تاتر خان	659	1260
Moazz ed-dîn Toghrul	معز الدين طغرل	676	1277
Nâser ed-dîn Baghra (by Dow written *Kera*)	ناصر الدين بغرا ابن غياث الدين بالين	681	1282

He is by some considered as the first mussulman sovereign of Bengal.

Kader

		A.H.	A.D.
Kader Khán	قدر خان	725	1325
The viceroy of *Muhammed Shâh.*			
Fakhar ed-dín Sekander	فخر الدين سكندر	741	1340
Commonly held to be the first independent mussulman king.			
Ala ed-dín Mubárik	علا و الدنيا و الدين مبارك	743	1342
Shems ed-dín Muhammed Shâh Ilîás Bangarah	شمس الدين محمد شاه الياس	744	1343
Sekander Shâh ben Shems-ed-dín	سكندر شاه بن شمس الدين	760	1358
Gheiás ed-dín Azim Shâh ben Sekander Shâh	غياث الدين اعظم شاه بن سكندر شاه	769	1367
Seif ed-dín Sultán as-sulátín ben Gheias ed-dín	سيف الدين سلطان السلاطين بن غياث الدين	775	1373
Shems ed-dín ben Sultán as-sulatín	شمس الدين بن سلطان السلاطين	785	1383
Kansa or *Khansa,* a Hindu		787	1385
Jelál ed-dín Muhammed Shâh (Chietmul ben Khansa)	جلال الدين محمد شاه	794	1392
Ahmed Shâh ben Jelál ed-dín	احمد شاه بن جلال الدين	812	1409(1)
Náser Shâh (descendant of *Shems ed-dín Ilîás Bangarah*).	ناصر شاه	830	1426–7
Barbek Shâh ben Náser Shâh	باربک شاه بن ناصر شاه	862	1457
Yúsuf Shâh ben Barbek Shâh	يوسف شاه بن باربک شاه	879	1474
Sekander Shâh	سكندر شاه	887	1482
Deposed after a very short reign.			
Fat-ah Shâh	فتح شاه	887	1482
Murdered by			
Shâh Zâdah an Eunuch	شاه زاده	896	1490–1
Murdered by			
Fírúz Shâh Habshí	فيروز شاه حبشي	897	1491

Mahmúd

(1) The coins shew that the historical dates about this period are erroneous, but the means of correcting the mistakes are not sufficiently ample.

		A.H.	A.D.
Mahmûd Shâh ben Fîrûz Shah	محمود شاه بن فيروز شاه	899	1494
Mozaffer Shâh Habshî	مظفر شاه حبشي	900	1495
Ala ed-dîn Husein Shâh ben Seyed Ashraf	علا الدين حسين شاه بن سيد اشرف	903	1498
Nasret Shâh ben Ala ed-dîn Husein	نصرة شاه بن علا الدين حسين شاه	927	1521
Mahmûd Shâh ben Ala ed-dîn Husein	محمود شاه بن علا الدين حسين شاه	940	1534

Having murdered his nephew, *Fîrûz Shâh*, the son of *Nasret*, he ascended the throne of *Gaur*; from which he was subsequently driven by

Ferîd ed-dîn Shîr Shâh	فريد الدين شير شاه	944	1537

Upon the defeat of *Mahmûd*, he became king of Bengal, and afterwards, upon that of *Humayûn*, emperor of Hindustan.

Humâyûn	نصير الدين محمد همايون	945	1538

He held his court for some time at *Gaur*, which he is said to have named *Jennet-abâd*.(2)

Shîr Shâh again	شير شاه	946	1539

His last visit to the province of Bengal was in 948. He died in 952–1545.

Muhammed Khân	محمد خان	952	1545

He was appointed viceroy of Bengal by *Islâm Shâh*, the son of *Shîr Shâh*, and in the reign of *Muhammed Adil* became independent.

Khizer-Khân Bahâdur Shâh ben Muhammed Khân	خضر خان بهادر شاه بن محمد خان	962	1555
Jelâl ed-dîn ben Muhammed Khân	جلال الدين بن محمد خان	968	1560–1
Soleimân Karâni or *Karzâni*	سليمان كراني or كرزاني	971	1563–4
Bâyazîd ben Soleimân	بايزيد بن سليمان	981	1573
Daûd Khân ben Soleimân	داود خان بن سليمان	981	1573

He was defeated and slain, in 984–1576, by the forces of *Akbar*, who finally annexed the province of Bengal to the empire of Hindustan.

(2) See remarks on coin of 917, n. DCCXCIII.

DCCLVII.

غياث الدين *GHEIÂS ED-DÎN.*

SILVER, An. 620.

I. AREA. غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر .. اطين .....
بن ... لطان السلاطين بن الد .. و الدين ابو المظفر
علي .. امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه

Gheias ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abû'l-mozaffer filius sultani sultanorum filius ... *ed* . . *wa ed-dîn Abû'l-mozaffer Ali* . . imperatoris fidelium. Perpetuet Deus regnum ejus.

II. AREA. لااله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله
امير المومنين

Third symbol. *Al-Nâser ledîn-illah* imperator fidelium.

MARGIN. الما .. الفس ..... الاخر سنه عشرين و ستمايه
..... anno 620 (1223). 6 dw. 19½ gr.

The date of this coin, the earliest of those belonging to the princes who governed Bengal in the name of the kings of Dehli, but who took all opportunities of rendering themselves independent, is expressed distinctly in words, and the correctness of the reading is confirmed by its referring to the khalifat of *Nâser ledîn-illah*, whose death is known to have taken place in 623. The titles and patronymics of the sultan by whom it was struck are for the most part illegible; not so much from obliteration, as from the original imperfect formation of the characters. We are told that he adopted the title of *Gheias ed-dîn*, in addition to, or instead of, his former appellation of *Husâm ed-dîn*, upon his being elevated to the throne in 609; that in 622 the sultan of Hindustan, named *Shems ed-dîn Iltemsh*, taking offence at his neglect of sending the customary presents (or tribute), marched an army to the frontier of Bengal, and exacted a treaty, by which it was conceded that the current money of the province should from thenceforth be struck in the name of the paramount lord;

lord; and that upon the subsequent violation of it, accompanied with acts of outrage on the part of *Gheias ed-dîn*, his dominions were again attacked and himself defeated and slain, in the year 624, by *Nâser ed-dîn*, the son of *Shems ed-dîn*, who became his successor in the government. SILVER, An. 620.

DCCLVIII.

شمس الدين الياس *SHEMS ED-DÎN ILÎÂS.*

I. AREA. السلطان العدل شمس الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر الياس شاه السلطان SILVER, An. 744.

Sultanus justus *Shems ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l-mozaffer Ilîâs Shâh* sultanus.

II. AREA. سكندر الثاني عين الخلافة (ناصر) امير المومنين

Sekander as-sâni (Alexander alter), oculus (conservator) vicariatûs, adjuvator imperatoris fidelium.

MARGIN. Mostly illegible.
..... سنه اربع و اربعين و سبع مايه
..... anno 744. 6 dw. 22½ gr.

This sultan, who was originally named *Haji Ilîâs*, upon the assassination of *Ala ed-dîn*, his predecessor, ascended the throne of Bengal in the year 744 (the date of the coin), by the title of *Shems ed-dîn*, to which is commonly added (for the purpose of distinction) the epithet of *Bangarah*. During the latter part of his reign, of sixteen years, he had to contend with the power of *Fîrûz Shâh*, sultan of Dehli, but succeeded in maintaining his independence, and even caused it to be formally acknowledged by a treaty concluded in 757. By him the seat of government was transferred from *Gaur* or *Luknauti* (always noted for the insalubrity

SILVER, An. 744. of its site) to a place about twelve miles north of that capital, named *Pandua.*

Under what circumstances he assumed the appellation of a second Alexander (following the example of *Ala ed-dîn Muhammed Shâh*, sultan of Hindustan) does not appear. It is the more remarkable because his son and successor was designated by the same title, or rather used it as his proper name. Had the coin indeed been struck near the close instead of the commencement of the father's reign, we might have been led to suppose that the son had been associated with him in the government, and that the title of *Sekander as-sâni* belonged exclusively to the heir apparent.

In professing a devotion to the dignity of the khalifat, *Shems ed-dîn* may have concealed his ignorance of the name of the then existing Abbasite Khalif of Egypt; although from the publicity of the circumstances attending the embassy sent thither by *Muhammed Shâh ben Tughlik*, of Dehli, in 743, he must have been fully aware of the revival of the sacred character, under the auspices of the Mamluk sultans of Cairo. The word which I read عين 'oculus (sc. vicariatûs)' may perhaps be intended for عبد 'servus.'(1) The marginal inscription, where the place of coinage should be found, is illegible in that part. It is equally defective in a gold specimen formerly belonging to Mr. Hannay of Bengal, of which I was permitted to make a drawing.(2)

(1) In the description of a similar coin, published by M. Reinaud in the Journal Asiatique, t. III. p. 273. he reads this word, يمين 'bras droit;' which, although conveying an appropriate meaning, does not seem to be justified by the characters, amongst which no trace of the ا can be discovered on my specimen.

(2) On four of the specimens belonging to the Société Asiatique M. Reinaud finds the place of coinage to be سنارگانو *Sunârgânu* (aurificium urbs), an ancient city on the *Barhamputr*, and the dates, 754 and 760.

DCCLIX.—DCCLXI.

سكندر شاه بن شمس الدين الياس *SEKANDER SHÂH BEN SHEMS ED-DIN ILÍÁS.*

SILVER, An. 760-769.

I. AREA. الواثق بتائيد الرحمن ابو المجاهد
سكندر شاه ابن الياس شاه السلطان

Firmus gratiâ Misericordis, *Abu'l-mojâhid* (pater bellatorum pro fide) *Sekander Shâh ben Ilîâs Shâh*, sultanus.

MARGIN. Illegible.

II. AREA. يمين الخلافة الله ناصر امير المومنين
عون الاسلام و المسلمين خلد ....

Manus dexter (defensor) vicariatûs Dei, adjuvator imperatoris fidelium, defensor fidei et verè credentium. Perpetuus sit (vicariatus ejus).

MARGIN. Illegible. 6 dw. 19 gr. 6 dw. 18 gr. 6 dw. 8 gr.

It will be perceived that in the inscription of this coin there is an evident imitation of one of the year 726, that has been described under the reign of *Muhammed ben Tughlik*, sultan of Dehli. So obscure are the words in the Margins of both sides, that although there are three specimens, I have not succeeded in ascertaining the sense, or even in verifying M. Reinaud's partial readings.

DCCLXII.

DCCLXII.—DCCLXIII.

غیاث الدین اعظم شاه بن سکندر شاه *GHEIÂS ED-DIN AZIM SHÂH BEN SEKANDER.*

SILVER, An. 769-775.

I. AREA. غیاث الدنیا و الدین ابو المظفر اعظم شاه
ابن سکندر شاه ابن الیاس شاه السلطان

Gheias ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l Mozaffer Azim Shâh ibn Sekander Shâh ibn Ilîâs Shâh; sultanus.

MARGIN. (7)75· خمس و سبعین .....

II. AREA. ناصر امیر المومنین عون الاسلام و
المسلمین خلد ملکه

Protector imperatoris fidelium, adjutor fidei ac verè credentium.

MARGIN. ضرب هذه الـ .... بحضرة .... اباد ....

Cuditur hæc (moneta) in urbe regia .... 6 dw. 19 gr. 6 dw. 21 gr.

The titles and filiation of the sultan are plainly legible on two specimens of this coin; but of the date, only the words expressing 75 remain, which denote it to have been struck in that year in which he died. With respect to the place, the term of حضرة, strictly implying the royal presence, was often prefixed to the name of the capital city, of which no more than the lower extremities of the characters are perceptible, in the Margin of II.

DCCLXIV.

DCCLXIV.

سيف الدين سلطان السلاطين بن غياث الدين *SEIF ED-DÍN SULTÂN AS-SULÂTÎN BEN GHEIÂS ED-DIN.*

I. Area. سيف الدنيا و الدين ابوالمجاهد بن اعظم شاه
بن سكندر شاه بن الياس شاه السلطان

Silver, An. 775-785.

Seif ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l-Mojâhid (pater bellatorum pro fide), *ben Azim shâh (Gheiâs ed-dîn), ben Sekander shâh, ben Ilîâs shâh;* sultanus.

Margin. Illegible.

II. Area. ناصر امير المومنين عون الاسلام و المسلمين
خلد ملكه

Protector imperatoris fidelium, adjutor fidei ac verè credentium. Perpetuum sit regnum ejus.

Margin. ضرب هذه السكه .....

Cuditur hæc moneta .... 6 dw. 21 gr.

In the lists of kings who reigned in Bengal, given by the native historians, this prince is commonly designated by the pompous title of *sultân as-sulâtîn* 'sultanus sultanorum,' which, however, does not appear on this coin; but his genealogy is so circumstantially detailed in the legend as to leave no room for doubting of the identity. The words in the Margin of II. that may be supposed to have expressed the place and date, are too imperfect for any satisfactory inference.

DCCLXV.

DCCLXV.—DCCLXXIII.

جلال الدين محمد شاه بن خنسي *JELAL ED-DIN MUHAMMED SHÁH BEN KHANSA.*

SILVER, An. 823.

I. AREA. جلال الدنيا والدين ابن المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

Jelál ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l Mozaffer Muhammed shâh, sultanus.

II. AREA. ناصر الاسلام والمسلمين خلد ملكه

Protector fidei ac verè credentium. Perpetuum sit regnum ejus.

MARGIN. ضرب هذه السكه في ..... سنه ٨٢٣

Cuditur hæc moneta in .... anno 823.

6 dw. 20 gr. 6 dw. 20½ gr. 6 dw. 12 gr. 6 dw. 20½ gr. 6 dw. 19½ gr.
6 dw. 19½ gr. 6 dw. 18¼ gr. 6 dw. 21½ gr.

This sultan, the son of a Hindu chief named Khansa, by whom the government had been wrested from *Shems ed-dîn* the son of *Seif ed-dîn*, became a convert from the religion of his forefathers to that of the most powerful, although not the most numerous class of his subjects, and acquired the praise of a zealous mussulman. He adorned the city of *Gaur*, his capital, with a splendid mosque and other public buildings, which were long distinguished amongst its ruins by the epithet of *Jeldli*. The commencement of his reign is placed by *Ferishtah* in the year 795, and its termination in 812; but this chronology is disproved by the numerous specimens of his coinage in the collection, upon some of which we perceive the dates of 819 and 823. About this period, indeed, the native writers appear to be very ill informed with respect to the Bengal annals, and it is not surprising that lists formed on their authority should stand in need of correction.

From the variety of the specimens we are also furnished with evidence of the meaning assigned to what has been described as a flourish or knot, being

being the true one; for, whilst some of them exhibit that flourish (preceded by the characters عون), upon others we find the word distinctly written الاسلام. The name of the place where they were coined, which on one specimen has the terminating syllable باد *bâd*, cannot be satisfactorily ascertained; and in some instances it would seem to have been intentionally defaced by the countermarks of the *shroffs* or money-brokers. SILVER, An. 823.

Besides these there is a smaller copper coin with جلال . . . . السلطان '*Jelâl . . . sultanus*,' on the one side, and on the other, the words فتح الدنيا و الدين '*Fat-ha ed-duniya wa ed-dîn*;' which vary so much from the style of his preceding titles, that, in the absence of a date, and the characters that should follow *Jelâl* being defaced, we may doubt of its belonging to the same prince.

DCCLXXIV.

شمس الدين (احمد شاه) بن محمد شاه *SHEMS ED-DÎN (AHMED SHÂH) BEN MUHAMMED SHÂH.*

I. AREA. السلطان . . . . شمس الدنيا و الدين
المجاهد . . . بن محمد شاه السلطان
SILVER, An. 836.

Sultanus maximus *Shems ed-dîn* bellator pro fide . . *ben Muhammed shâh*, sultanus.

MARGIN. Illegible.

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. ضرب هذه السكه ٨٣٦

Cuditur hæc moneta . . . . . 836 (1432). 6 dw. 21½ gr.

SILVER, An. 836. The sultan of Bengal, whose title of *Shems ed-dîn* appears on this coin, is by *Ferishtah* and other historians named *Ahmed Shâh*, which may have been his original, and for the sake of distinction from several others, his popular denomination. The circumstance, however, of his being the son of *Muhammed Shâh* (more commonly known as *Jelâl ed-dîn*) together with the date, which is particularly distinct, preclude all uncertainty as to the person, and we may perceive that after the epithet المجاهد there are characters bearing a resemblance to those which form the name of احمد *Ahmed.*

What was observed of the disagreement between the dates on his father's coinage and the period assigned by historians to his reign, is here further exemplified, as the death of this sultan is by them placed in the year 830.

Instead of the word *dirhem* we find at this period the word سکه *sikkah* 'moneta' employed on the coinage, and not as a general name for money, but as the proper denomination of that silver coin which was subsequently named a *rupîh;* and hence it is that the expression of *sikkah*-weight (namely the weight of a standard *rupîh*) has prevailed in the Bengal mints.(1)

DCCLXXV.

باربک شاه بن محمود شاه *BÂRBEK SHÂH BEN MAHMÛD SHÂH.*

SILVER, An. 873.

I. AREA. خزر السلطان الاعدل الاعظم باربک شاه
السلطان ابن محمد شاه السلطان
خلد الله ملکه حسین

Khazar. Sultanus justissimus, supremus, *Barbek shâh* sultanus, filius *Mahmûd shâh* sultani. Perpetuet Deus regnum ejus. *Husein.*

MARGIN. Illegible.

II. AREA.

(1) The word *zeccha* a mint, in the Italian language, is evidently the Persian *sikkah*, with a slight difference of pronunciation.

II. Area. Third symbol. ۸۷۳ خزاز

Khazáz s. *Hazáz.* 873 (1468).

Silver, An. 873.

Margin. ..... عثمان ..... ابوبکر

Names of the Successors of the Prophet. 6 dw. 13 gr.

Bârbek Shâh is stated by the historians to have reigned in Bengal from the year 862 to 879, and as this silver coin contains, along with his name, the date of 873, there should seem to be no grounds for hesitating to assign it to him; and yet a serious difficulty presents itself in his being styled the son of *Mahmûd Shâh*, for which there is no other authority; but, on the contrary, it is stated by Stewart in his history of that country, that 'Nasir Shah departed this life in the year 862, and was succeeded by *his son* Barbek Shah.' It is possible, indeed, that *Náser* may, at some period of his life, have assumed and been designated by the title of *Mahmûd Shâh*, changes of that nature being by no means uncommon. At all events his successor must not be confounded with another *Barbek*, the son of *Behloli*, who, upon the overthrow of *Husein*, the grandson of *Ibrâhîm* of *Jaunpúr*, was appointed to the government of the Eastern provinces.

The word which is read خزر *khazar*, at the top of Area I., as well as the name of *Husein* or *Hasan* at the bottom of the same Area, and the word that seems to be خزاز *khazáz* at the bottom of Area II., must refer to circumstances and persons upon whose connexion with the coinage history has not thrown any light. The Margin of II. is occupied with the names of the first four khalifs or successors, in characters and orthography so extremely imperfect, as to render them scarcely recognisable.

Some account is given of this coin, from a very imperfect specimen, by T. C. Tychsen, Comm. de Num. Ind. p. 166. n. iv.

DCCLXXVI.

شمس الدين يوسف شاه بن باربک شاه *SHEMS ED-DÍN YÛSUF SHÁH BEN BÁRBEK SHÁH.*

SILVER, An. 879-887.

I. AREA. شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر شاه يوسف
السلطان بن باربک شاه السلطان بن محمود شاه السلطان
Shems ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l-Mozaffer Shâh Yûsuf sultanus *ben Barbek Shâh* sultani *ben Mahmûd Shâh* sultani.

II. AREA. Third symbol. 6 dw. 17½ gr.

Notwithstanding its extremely rude execution, the legend of this coin does not admit of any doubt, so far as respects the titles and filiation of the sultan. At the bottom of Area II. stood, as there is reason to presume, the date and name of the place where struck; but which have been obliterated by the ruthless hammer and countermarks of a *shroff*. It is known, however, that a mosque was founded in the city of *Gaur*, by *Yúsuf Shâh*, in the year 880, and another in 885.

DCCLXXVII.

فتح شاه *FATAH SHÂH.*

COPPER, An. 887-896.

I. AREA. فتح الدنيا و الدين
Fatah ed-duniya wa ed-dîn.

MARGIN. Obliterated.

II. AREA. جلا .... السلطان
Jelâl ..... sultanus.

Upon

Upon the death of *Yûsuf Shâh*, without children, a youth of the royal family, named *Sekander Shâh*, was placed on the throne by the nobles, who immediately afterwards deposed him, and substituted his uncle, named *Fatah Shâh*, by whom, it is probable, this small copper coin was struck. The want of date, however, and the imperfection of the legend, render the appropriation doubtful. His reign began in 887, and in 896 he was put to death by the eunuchs of the palace; when their chief, whom *Ferishtah* names *Bârbek*, mounted the throne, with the title of *Shâh Zâdah* (royal offspring), to which he certainly had no pretension.

COPPER, An. 887-896.

DCCLXXVIII.

تاج الدين فيروز شاه حبشي *TÁJ ED-DÍN FÍRÚZ SHÁH, HABSHÍ.*

I. AREA. تاج الدنيا و الدين فيروز شاه السلطان
Tâj ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Fîrûz Shâh sultanus.

SILVER, An. 897.

MARGIN. ..... ٨٩٧ 897 (1491-2).

II. AREA. السلطان العهد و الزمان ابو..... احمد
Sultanus fœderis ac ætatis . *Abu* ..... *Ahmed.* 7 dw. 1½ gr.

The reign of the eunuch *Shâh Zâdah* was not of long duration. After a few months exercise of the royal functions, the principal officers of state conspired to put him to death, and it was carried into execution by one whom the History of Bengal names *Mulk Andiel.* This person, originally an Ethiopian slave, had risen to the situation of commander in chief, and was, on this occasion, chosen by his compeers to fill the vacant throne, with the title of sultan *Fîrûz Shâh.* He reigned about three years, respected for his valour and beloved for his generosity. The remains

SILVER, An. 897. remains of a mosque, a minaret, and a reservoir, which he constructed, are said to be still visible at *Gaur*. His death took place in 899.

The title of *Tâj ed-dîn* 'corona fidei,' as it appears on the coin, is not mentioned by historians as having been assumed by this sultan, which might well happen; but what seems more difficult to account for is, that another coin of the same year (897), in the collection of the East-India Company, presents, along with the name of *Fîrûz Shâh*, the title of *Shems ed-dîn* 'sol fidei,' and not that of *Tâj ed-dîn*.

On the Reverse there are some honorary epithets, the last of which, although not wanting in distinctness of the strokes, is rendered unintelligible by the bad formation of the characters. It appears to end with the word احمد *ahmed*.

DCCLXXIX.—DCCXCII.

علا الدين حسين شاه *ALA ED-DÎN HUSEIN SHÂH.*

SILVER, An. 899.

I. AREA. علا و الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر حسين
شاه السلطان خلدد الله ملكه و سلطانه

Ala wa ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l Mozaffer Husein Shâh sultanus.
Perpetuet Deus regnum et imperium suum.

II. AREA. Third symbol. ٨٩٩ فتح اباد

Fat-ha-abâd 899 (1493-4).

6 dw. 19 gr. 6 dw. 15 gr. 6 dw. 18 gr. 6 dw. 20 gr.

Upon the death of *Fîrûz Shâh* he was succeeded by his son (or, according to one historian, by the son of *Fatah Shâh*) who assumed the title of *Mahmûd Shâh*. When this prince had reigned about twelve months, he experienced the fate, so common at this period, of being murdered by one of those Ethiopians who held the great offices of the palace; and, as matter of course, the assassin mounted the throne in his stead. The title

title by which he is known is that of *Mozaffer Shâh*, and the event is said to have taken place in the year 900. It is further stated that in the year 903, when he had reigned three years and five months in the commission of every species of cruelty, which his subjects could no longer endure, he perished in a great battle fought near the city of *Gaur*, where he had been for some time besieged. The head of those who conspired against him was the vizir named *Seyed Husein Maki*, a person of Arabian extraction, whose talents had raised him to distinction, and whom, on this occasion, all the other chiefs concurred in placing on the throne, with the title of *Ala wa ed-duniya wa ed-dîn*, or, in the form to which it is usually contracted, *Ala-ed-dîn*. By him this coin, of which there are four specimens, from very different dies, was struck, and as they all bear the date, in figures more or less perfect, of 899, a chronological difficulty presents itself; for by *Ferishtah* the commencement of the reign of this sultan is said to have been in the year 903. Unless the authority of the annals should be strongly corroborated by circumstances, that of the coin will be thought to preponderate, and the former to stand in need of correction. SILVER, An. 899.

Whether the name or moral epithet of *Fat-ha-abâd* 'victoriæ civitas,' had been applied to the city of *Gaur* (more familiarly called *Luknauti*), or belonged to some other in Bengal, does not appear. The favourite residence of *Husein* was the fortress of *Akdala*.

DCCXCIII.—DCCXCVI.

علا الدين حسين شاه *ALA ED-DÎN HUSEIN SHÂH.*

I. AREA. السلطان الغازي . . . . . علا و الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر SILVER, An. (917).

II. AREA.

SILVER, An. (917).

II. AREA. شاه حسين السلطان بن سيّد اشرف
الحسني خلد ملكه و سلطنه جنّتاباد . . . .

Sultanus victor . . . . . *Ala wa ed-duniya wa ed-dîn* . . . . *Abu'l Mozaffer Shâh Husein* sultanus *ben Seyed Ashraf al-Husînî* (s. *Husna*). Perpetuum sit regnum et imperium suum. *Jennet-abâd* . . . .

6 dw. 18 gr. 6 dw. 18½ gr. 6 dw. 18 gr. 6 dw. 19½ gr.

On this silver coin of the same sultan his high descent from the family of the Prophet (real or assumed) is set forth. The specimens of his money are in general much defaced as well as imperfect in point of workmanship, but being numerous, the most material parts of the legend are ascertained by comparison; and yet even with that advantage some words remain undeciphered. In an inscription, however, found on one of the principal gateways to the city of *Gaur*, and copied by Mr. Charles Wilkins about the year 1776, the sultan's titles are thus expressed:

السلطان المعظم المكرم علا و الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر سلطان
حسين شاه بن سيّد اشرف الحسني في سنه ٩١٠

On two of the specimens the dates have been intentionally obliterated; but on a similar one, of which an engraving has been furnished by Prof. T. C. Tychsen, it is 917, being ten years previous to his death.(1) On one of them the place of coinage is فتح اباد *Fat-ha abâd*, and on the other جنّتاباد *Jennet abâd*. The latter, signifying 'the seat of Paradise,' is well known to have belonged to the city of *Gaur;* but it is deserving of remark that the historians of Bengal assert it to have been bestowed by *Humâyûn* the father of *Akbar*, who, upon taking possession of it in the year 945–1538-9, was strongly impressed with the beauty of its appearance;(2) whilst from the evidence of this and other coins it must be allowed to have prevailed at an earlier period.

DCCXCIII.

(1) See his 'Dissert. de Numis Indicis, p. 168.' and 'Tab. Num. Bengal. n. XXI.'

(2) See Stewart's Hist. of Bengal, p. 124.

DCCXCVII.—DCCXCIX.

ناصر الدين بن علا الدين حسين *NASER ED-DÎN BEN ALA ED-DÎN HUSEIN.*

I. Area. السلطان ابن السلطان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر (جنتاباد) — Silver, An. 924.

II. Area. شاه السلطان به شاه السلطان حسين . . . . الحسني خلد الله ملكه (و سلطانه) ٩٢٤

Sultanus filius sultani *Nâser ed-duniya wa ed-dîn Abu'l Mozaffer Shâh* sultanus, auctoritate *Shâh* sultani *Husein (ben) al-Husini.* Perpetuet Deus regnum et imperium suum. *(Jennet-abâd)* 924 (1518). 6 dw. 16 gr. 6 dw. 17 gr. 6 dw. 14 gr.

The name or title of this prince, whom the Bengal historians call *Naseret Shâh* and *Nasîb Shâh*, appears on his coins to be *Nâser ed-dîn;* which last he may probably have assumed at the time of his beginning to exercise the functions of government, three years before the death of his father. Although unnoticed by *Ferishtah*, this delegation of the royal authority is not only to be inferred from the date of the money, but is expressed by the preposition به *behi*, which seems to be here used as a contraction of the phrase مأموربه 'imperatus,' or ممامربه 'ex mandato,' so often occurring, under similar circumstances, on the coins of the Abbassite khalifs.

Nâser ed-dîn or *Nasret Shâh* was assassinated by his domestic servants in 940, after a reign of thirteen years, reckoning from his father's decease, or sixteen from the time of his name being pronounced in the *khutbah* and impressed on the coinage.(1) Upon the death of this sultan, his son,

 a youth,

(1) "Some historians, says Stewart, have assigned him a reign of sixteen years, and say his death occurred in 943; but this statement does not agree with the account of subsequent transactions" Hist. of Bengal, p. 117. The doubtful years were at the commencement, not the close of his reign.

SILVER, An. 924. a youth, named *Fírúz Sháh*, was allowed to occupy the throne for a few months, when he was murdered by his uncle, *Mahmúd Sháh*, who appears to have adopted the title of *Gheiás ed-dín*. Of his reign there is no specimen in the collection, but on a building in the city of *Gaur* the following memorial of him subsisted a few years since:

غیاث الدنیا و الدین ابو المظفر محمود شاه
ابن السلطان حسین شاه السلطان

Gheiás ed-duniya wa ed-dín abú'l-mozaffer Mahmúd Sháh filius sultani *Husein Sháh*, sultanus.

In the lower lines of the legend of Area II. there are some peculiarities arising from want of skill on the part of the artist; the letter د being separated from خل, in the word خلد, and those characters which should form the words و سلطانه being scarcely recognizable. In the date also, the figure in the place of units is ambiguous, and as like to ٣ 3 as to ٤ 4. Of this coin there are two tolerably good and one indifferent specimen.

DCCC.

محمد شاه *MUHAMMED SHÁH.*

SILVER, An. 962. I. AREA. محمد شاه غازي خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه

Muhammed Sháh Gházi. Perpetuet Deus regnum et imperium ejus.

MARGIN. شمس الدنیا و الدین ابو المظفر
ضرب ارکات سنه ٩٦٢

Shems ed duniya wa ed-dín Abu'l Mozaffer. Cuditur in *Arkát* anno 962 (1554-5).

II. AREA.

II. AREA. Third symbol, SILVER, An. 962.

MARGIN. ابابكر الصديق عمر الخطاب
عثمان الغون ? علي . . . .

Aba-bekr fidelis. *Omar* bene loquens, disertus. *Othmân* . . . . . *Ali* (sapiens). 7 dw. 11½ gr.

During the contest between *Humâyûn*, the son of *Bâber*, and *Shîr Shâh*, the *Afghân*, for the sovereignty of Hindustan, the possession of Bengal was held by him whose power happened to predominate, and during the reign of the latter, who finally triumphed over his royal adversary, as well as that of his son, the government was committed to the hands of their lieutenants. To this important station *Islâm Shâh* had appointed one of his own relatives, named *Muhammed Khân*, who is said by the historian of Bengal 'to have ruled with strict justice and great propriety during the whole of the reign of that sultan; but when, in the year 960, the abandoned *Muhammed Adil* had seized the throne, the governor of Bengal deeming himself absolved from any allegiance to the murderer of the son of his patron, disclaimed the imperial authority, and ordered the coin to be stamped in his own name.' From the legend of this money, it appears that he changed his Turkish appellation of *khân* for the Persian *shâh*, to which he added the title of *Shems ed-dîn* or 'sun of the faith.' In the year 962 (the date of the coin), he was defeated and slain by the troops of that usurper.

The place of coinage, a well-known city of the *Karnatik*, is remarkable. The epithets of the successors are rather more distinct than usual, and that of الخطاب, applied to *Omar*, is of rare occurrence.

DCCCI.

بهادر شاه ابن محمد شاه *BAHÂDUR SHÂH BEN MUHAMMED SHÂH.*

SILVER, An. 962-8.

I. AREA. بهادر شاه ابن محمد شاه غازي
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

Bahâdur Shâh ben Muhammed Shâh victor. Perpetuet Deus regnum et imperium suum.

MARGIN. Illegible. श्रीबहादुरशाही *Shrî Bahâdur Shâhî.*

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. ابابكر صد . . . . . علي

Names of the Four Successors, imperfect. 6 dw. 16½ gr.

The overthrow and death of *Muhammed Shâh* did not prevent the chiefs of the army from raising to the throne of their deceased master his son, named *Khîzer Khân*, who, on that occasion, or perhaps on the destruction of *Muhammed Adil*, to whom he gave battle in the year 963, adopted the title of *Bahâdur Shâh* 'rex bellicosus.'

The coin, upon which no date appears, was probably struck about the period of his victory, which, as Stewart observes, 'gave him the absolute sovereignty of Bengal and a part of Behar.' His death took place in 968.

DCCCII.

DCCCI*.

جلال الدين بن محمد خان *JELÂL ED-DÎN BEN MUHAMMED KHÂN (SHÂH).*

I. Area. سلطان جلال الدين بن محمد شاه غازي خلد الله ملكه — Silver, An. 968-971.

Sultanus *Jelâl ed-dîn ben Muhammed Shâh Ghâzî.* Perpetuet Deus regnum ejus.

Margin. Illegible.

II. Area. Third symbol.

Margin. Illegible. 9 dw. 19 gr.

"*Behâdur Shâh* (says Stewart) dying without children, was succeeded by his brother *Jellal Khân*, who at the end of three years (*viz.* in 971) also died at *Gour*, and was succeeded by his son, a youth, who soon after fell by the hands of an assassin named *Ghyas addeen*, who for a short time usurped the government."

DCCCII.

داود شاه بن سليمان شاه *DÂOUD SHÂH BEN SOLEIMÂN SHÂH.*

I. Area. داود شاه (ابن) سليمان شاه كرزاني
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه * — Silver, An. 984.

Dâoud Shâh (ibn) Soleimân Shâh Kerzâni. Perpetuet Deus regnum et imperium suum.

Margin.

SILVER, An. 984.

MARGIN. Cuditur in *Tândah* .. ضرب تاندة ....
श्रीदावदशाही *Shrî David Shâhî.*

II. AREA. Third symbol. ٩٨٤ 984 (1576).

MARGIN. Imperfect and illegible. 7 dw. 11 gr.

After a short and confused interval we find, in the year 972, the regal authority vested in the chief of an *Afghân* tribe, named *Soleimân Kerâni*, whose military services had contributed to the signal victory obtained by *Bahâdur Shâh*. He acknowledged at the same time an allegiance or political submission to the emperor *Akbar*, whose favour he conciliated by valuable presents; nor did he assume the insignia of royalty, although he affected the title of *Soleimân Shâh*. At his death, in 981, he was succeeded by his eldest son *Bâyazîd*, who, when he had reigned only a few months, was put to death by the *Afghân* chiefs, to whom he had given umbrage. In his stead they raised to the throne his younger brother, with the title of *Daoûd Shâh Kerâni*.(1) This prince, departing from the prudent system of his father, had the *khutbah* read and the coinage struck in his own name; of which latter the coin above described affords a good specimen, although the figures composing the date, which seems to be 984, are but faintly discernible, and the marginal inscriptions are defective from the want of sufficient space. After a long and doubtful contention with the emperor, to whom, at one period, he had been reduced to the necessity of swearing allegiance, he was at length made prisoner, in the year 984, and executed as a rebel.

"With *Daood Khan*, says Stewart, terminated the line of (Mussulman) Bengal kings, who had reigned in succession over that country for two hundred and thirty-six years; and with him was brought to a conclusion the sovereignty of the *Afghan* nation over that province, of which they had

(1) The name of the tribe is by some European translators written *Kerani* and by others *Garani*. On the coin the word appears to be كرزاني *Kerzâni*.

had held the uncontrouled possession for nearly four centuries." P. 164. To which he adds in a note: "The *Afghân* is generally called the *Patan* empire; but the latter word is unknown to the present *Afghans*, and is not, I believe, used by any of the ancient historians." SILVER, An. 984.

The city of *Tondah* or *Tândah*, where the coin was struck, had been fixed upon for the residence of the court by his father *Soleimân*, who judiciously inferred, 'from the number of kings who had (prematurely) died at *Gaur*, that it was either an unhealthy or an unlucky place.' The distance between the two, however, is not considerable.

MOGHUL EMPERORS OF HINDUSTAN.

		A.H.	A.D.
Zehîr ed-dîn Muhammed Bâber	ظهير الدين محمد بابر	932	1525

He was a descendant in the fourth generation from *Tîmûr*, being the grandson of the grandson of that conqueror, who invaded Hindustan, put the reigning sultan *Mahmûd* to flight, and plundered *Dehli*, but did not establish his own family on the throne. *Bâber* may therefore be considered as the first Moghul emperor; for which he was indebted to the exertion of great military talents. In 932 he defeated the Patan sultan *Ibrâhîm* in a great battle on the plain of Paniput, and soon after entered Dehli, where the *khutbah* was read in his name.

Nasîr ed-dîn Muhammed Humâyûn ben Bâber	نصير الدين محمد همايون ابن بابر	937	1530

In 942 he marched an army into Bengal, to quell the insurrection of *Shîr Shâh*, by whom in 946, and again in 947, he was defeated, and in 949 was obliged to fly to Persia, where he remained about twelve years, when resolving to take advantage of the dissentions amongst the Patan princes, he returned towards Hindustan, defeated sultan *Sekander* near *Sirhind* in the year 962, recovered the empire, and finally established the *Moghul* on the ruins of the Patan or *Afghân* empire.

		962	1554
Akbar (Jelâl ed-dîn Muhammed)	جلال الدين محمد اكبر	963	1556
Jehân-gîr (Nûr ed-dîn Muhammed)	نور الدين محمد جهانگير	1014	1605
Shâh Jehân (Shehâb ed-dîn Muhammed)	شهاب الدين محمد شاه جهان	1037	1627
Aureng-zêb Alum-gîr (Muhi ed-dîn)	محي الدين محمد اورنك زيب عالم گير	1068	1658
Azim Shâh (Muhammed)	محمد اعظم شاه	1118	1707

Bahâdur

		A.H.	A.D.
Bahádur Sháh Sháh Alum (Kutb ed-dín)	قطب الدين بهادر شاه شاه عالم	1118	1707
Jehándár Sháh (Mòaz ed-dín)	معز الدين جهاندار شاه	1124	1712
Furrukh-sîr (Muhammed)	محمد فرخ سير	1124	1712
Rafìè ed derjat (Abú-berkát)	ابوبركات رفيع الدرجة	1131	1719
Rafìè ed-daulat	رفيع الدولة	1131	1719
Muhammed Sháh (Náser ed-dín)	ناصر الدين محمد شاه	1131	1719
Ahmed Sháh (Abu'l Nasr)	أبوالنصر احمد شاه بهادر	1161	1748
Alumgîr sáni (Azíz ed dín Muhammed)	عزيز الدين محمد عالمگير ثاني	1167	1754
Sháh Alum (Jelál ed-dín)	جلال الدين شاه عالم	1175	1761

DCCCIII.

جلال الدين محمد اكبر *JELÁL ED-DÍN MUHAMMED AKBAR.*

I. Area. جلال الدين محمد اكبر پادشاه غازي ٩٧٠ — Silver, An. 970.

Jelál ed-dîn Muhammed Akbar pádshâh ghâzi (imperator victoriosus).
970 (1562-3).

Margin. Illegible.

II. Area. Third symbol.

Margin. Names of the Four Successors of the Prophet, very imperfect. 7 dw. 2½ gr.

Under this distinguished sovereign, whose reign began in 963–1556 and terminated in 1014–1605,(1) the empire of the Moghuls in Hindustan

(1) It therefore embraces the whole period of our Queen Elizabeth's reign, which was from 1558 to 1603.

SILVER, An. 970. (as the dynasty is termed) assumed a regular form, and attained to a high degree of civilisation and glory. Of *Humâyún*, his father, or of *Bâber*, his grandfather, I have not seen any coinage. That of *Akbar* is by no means scarce, and the variety of forms in which it is struck, shews that the mint was a favourite object of his attention. For their denominations, which seem to have little practical application to the currency of his realm, the reader is referred to the Ayin Akbari, vol. I. p. 26, where they are minutely detailed. This rupih, coined seven years after his accession, bears much resemblance to those of *Shîr Shâh*, and is less handsome than his subsequent money. The inscription is simple, as are all those on the numerous specimens in this collection. The Ayin Akbari, however, omitting these, has recorded such chiefly as have poetical merit. It may be observed that the diacritical points are very sparingly used.

The Persian title of پادشاه *Pâd-shâh*, to which the epithet of غازي *ghâzi*, 'victoriosus,' is frequently annexed, seems to be equivalent to 'imperator,' as distinguished from 'rex,' and to have been first assumed in Hindustan by this monarch. Its etymology, as given by the natives in their dictionaries, from a word signifying 'tollens, auferens, pellens (quasi damnum),' is very far from satisfactory.

DCCCIV.—DCCCVII.

أكبر *AKBAR.*

GOLD, An. 973. I. AREA. جلال الدين محمد اكبر پادشاه غازي
سلطان الاعظم خلد الله تعالي ملكه و
سلطانه ٩٧٣

Jelâl ed-dîn Muhammed Akbar imperator victoriosus, sultanus maximus, cujus regnum et imperium perpetuet Deus excelsus. 973 (1565-6).

II. AREA.

II. AREA. Third symbol. GOLD, An. 973.

MARGIN. Names, with moral epithets, of four successors, imperfect.
7 dw. 6 dw. 23½ gr. 7 dw. 19 gr. (with ring). 6 dw. 22 gr.

This rich gold coin, denominated a *muhr* (vulgarly *mohur*) from the word مهر signifying the impression of a seal,(1) presents the first example of that total disregard of the order of words and letters that characterises the money of the race of *Tímúr* in Hindustan; the object of the artist being to display his taste by so disposing the various strokes of the sentence as to fill up the space with symmetry. The style of writing on this and the generality of *Akbar's* coinage is that species of the *niskhi* or proper Arabic which is termed *rohâni*, and which had been employed, though rudely, by the Patan dynasty.(2) His successors, on the contrary, adopted the *tâlîk* or what we term the Persian character. The word تعالى 'excelsus, altissimus,' as an attribute of the Deity, appears here for the first time on the coinage of Hindustan.

In consequence of the imperfect state of the marginal characters, the name of the places where some of these early pieces were struck cannot be ascertained. They were probably, however, from the mint of *Agrah*, as that city was the imperial residence.

Of the same description there is a second gold coin, with the date of 975, and a third, of 976, in which last the names of the four successors, with their epithets, are rather more legible than on those which precede. The *rohâni* characters also, composing the third symbol, have a more disproportioned length in their perpendicular strokes. A fourth *muhr*, of the date of 980, is smaller in surface, but thicker, and consequently comprises less of the inscription than the others.

(1) By some the name is supposed to have allusion to مهر *mihr* the sun, but erroneously. The Ayin Akbari speaks of the *Aftâbi* and *Ilahi* as round gold coins of the value of 12, and the *Adil Gutkah* and *Muhr* of 11 rupihs.

(2) "Outre ces deux susdits façons d'écrire (*Néssich* et *Talik*) les Mahométans en ont plusieurs autres. Celle qu'ils appellent *Dtiült* ou *Rihâni*, est en grosses lettres dont on se sert pour les inscriptions sur le bois ou sur la pierre, de même que pour les titres de livres; ils lient souvent ces lettres par des ornemens ingénieux, elles sont plus grandes et plus remplies, mais d'ailleurs peu différentes du *Néssich* (*Niskhi*)." Niebuhr, Descr. de l'Arabie, p. 89.

DCCCVIII.—DCCCIX.

اكبر *AKBAR.*

GOLD, AD. 981.

I. AREA. As in the preceding. ضرب بلده اگره
Cuditur in urbe *Agrah.*

II. AREA. Third symbol. ابي بكر عمر عثمان علي ۹۸۱
Abi-bekr . Omar . Othmân . Ali. 981 (1573).
6 dw. 22 gr. 6 dw. 22½ gr.

The shape of this gold coin (an oblong with the ends scallopped) is so peculiar and inconvenient for currency, that we may conclude it to have been intended rather for the purpose of royal donation, and as the two specimens in the collection are of the same date, it may be inferred that the experiment was not often repeated. It is not specifically described in the *Ayin Akbari*, unless the *mehrâbi*, of which the 'weight, value, and impression' are said to correspond to those of the *round muhr*, is meant for its denomination. The characters, of the *rohâni* form, are well executed, and in a bold style.

The name of *Agrah*, as the place of coinage, is preceded by the word بلده 'urbs,' which does not often occur. On the Reverse, in a line under the symbol, are the names of the four successors, without the epithets or attributes that frequently accompany them.

DCCCX.

DCCCX.—DCCCXI.

اكبر *AKBAR.*

I. Area. جلال الدين &c. دار الخلافة اكبر (آباد) Gold,
Jelâl ed-dîn, &c. In sede vicariatûs *Akbar-âbâd.* An. 982.

II. Area. Third symbol. ٩٨٢ 982 (1574).

Margin. Names of Four successors, imperfect.
7 dw. 6 dw. 21 gr.

The final letters being cut off, there might be some doubt whether the name of the place of coinage is here meant to be *Agrah* or its recent appellation of *Akbar-âbâd*, but comparison with another specimen shews it to be the latter. The epithet annexed, which literally implies its being the seat of the khalifat, and has been considered as denoting merely the imperial residence, is deserving of more particular remark, as it seems to be connected with events that took place in a distant part of the world. On the money of the Patan or *Afghân* dynasty, the predecessors of *Akbar*, we have found the sultans assuming the title of protector of the khalifat; sometimes giving the name of the individual presumed at the time to exercise the sacred functions, but more frequently expressing attachment to the office or dignity, in the abstract. Thus, on the coinage of *Nâser ed-dîn Mahmûd* appears the name of *Al-Mostàsem*, the last of the khalifs of *Baghdâd;* on that of *Ala ed dîn Muhammed*, a general profession of adherence; on that of *Fîrûz Shâh*, the name of the fifth of the Abbassite khalifs of Egypt; and on that of *Ibrâhîm* of *Jaunpûr*, the name of the fourteenth of the same line of khalifs. Upon the conquest of Egypt, however, by the Ottoman emperor *Selîm*, the pageantry was abolished, and since that period it has not been revived in any direct manner, although his descendants have considered themselves as the heads of the mussulman faith, but without adopting the title. Aware of the state of abeyanceinto which the See (as it may by allusion be termed) had fallen, *Akbar*, in denominating his capital the seat of the khalifat or vicegerency

Gold, An. 982. vicegerency, seems to have been inclined to avail himself of the opportunity of aggrandizement, and to dispute the dormant pretensions of the Turkish sultan to religious supremacy; but being deficient in zeal for the principles of the Faithful, he does not appear to have pursued the object in any other way.

On another handsome specimen, in most respects similar to this, but wanting the date, the name of اکبرآباد *Akbar-âbâd* is sufficiently distinct.

DCCCXII.—DCCCXIII.

اکبر *AKBAR.*

Gold, An. 982.

I. Area. جلال الدين محمد اکبر پادشاه غازي
خلد الله ملکه . . . . دار السلطنة احمد آباد

Jelâl ed-din Muhammed Akbar pâdshâh ghâzi. Perpetuet Deus regnum ejus. (Cuditur in) sede regia *Ahmedâbâd.*

II. Area. Third symbol. ٩٨٢ (anno) 982 (1574).

Margin. Names of the Four Successors.
7 dw. 6 dw. 22½ gr.

In this *muhr* there is nothing remarkable excepting the epithet applied to the city of *Ahmedâbâd*, capital of the province of *Guzerat*, which formed a part of what is termed the Moghul empire. From a second specimen of the same date, some characters defective from unequal striking have been supplied in the legend.

A *muhr* of the year 983, on which the name of the place of coinage does not appear, requires no particular remark.

DCCCXIV.

DCCCXIV.—DCCCXV.

اكبر *AKBAR.*

I. Area. ٩٨٣ ضرب بتنه &c. جلال الدين — Silver, An. 983.
Jelâl ed-dîn, &c. Cuditur in *Patnah* 983 (1575).

II. Area. Third symbol.

Margin. Illegible. 7 dw. 4½ gr. 7 dw. 3½ gr.

The place of coinage is the only circumstance worthy of remark in this rupiah. Another, of the year 984, is defective in this respect.

DCCCXVI.

اكبر *AKBAR.*

I. Area. ٩٨٤ &c. جلا الدين — Gold, An. 984.
Jelâl ed-dîn, &c. 984 (1576).

II. Area. Third symbol. 6 dw. 22 gr.

On this fair gold *muhr* the place of coinage does not appear, and only a few characters of the marginal inscription of I. are perceptible.

DCCCXVII.

DCCCXVII.

اكبر *AKBAR.*

SILVER, Square, An. 986.

I. AREA. جلال الدين &c. ضرب دار السلطنة لاهور ٩٨٦
Jelâl ed-dîn, &c. Cuditur in sede regia *Lâhawar*. 986 (1578).

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. Names and epithets of Four successors, imperfect.
7 dw. 4 gr.

The chief peculiarity of this rupih is its square form, which was in the sequel (and perhaps at an earlier period) affected in the gold as well as the silver coinage. It is from the mint of *Lâhawar*, the capital of the *Panjâb* or country of the five streams, whose confluence, at different points, becomes the great river *Indus*. It should be observed that the Persian orthography of the name of *Lâhawar* or *Lahôr* is, in the tables of the *Ayin Akbari*, لهاور, but on the coins it is written لاهور, with the ا quiescent in the first syllable. In that celebrated work it is said that the *jiláleh* جلاله is a silver coin of a square form, with the same impression and weight as the 'rupeeah;' but this, though square, is not a *jiláleh*, for that denomination is evidently derived (as will hereafter be seen) from a word in the legend which has no place here.

DCCCXVIII.

اكبر *AKBAR.*

I. Area. جلال الدين &c. خلد الله تعالي ملكه
ضرب دار الخلاص احمد اباد

Gold, An. 987.

Jelál ed-dín, &c. cujus regnum perpetuet Deus excelsus. Cuditur in sede salutis *Ahmed-abád.*

II. Area. Third symbol, in a lozenge.

Marginal Angles. بصدق (ابي بكر) بعدل عمر
بحياي عثمان بعلم علي ٩٨٧

Per veritatem *Abi-bekr*, per justitiam *Omar*, per modestiam *Othmán*, per scientiam *Ali*. 987 (1579). 7 dw. 19½ gr.

None of the descriptions of *Akbar's* gold coinage furnished by *Abu'l Fazl*, in the first volume of the Ayin Akbari, apply directly to this very handsome square piece, which cannot properly be termed a *muhr*, because that is defined to be a round coin, nor is it a لعل جلالي *ladl jeláli* 'rubinus splendens,' as the shape might denote, because it contains the common inscription (omitted in that work), and not the words belonging to the latter denomination, as given in p. 31–2. This want of precision, to which oriental definitions in general are subject, might lead us to presume that the noble author wrote from the stores of his memory, without having the various specimens actually before him.

The symbol on the Reverse is inscribed in a lozenge formed within a square, having its sides composed of the long protracted tails of final letters in the names of the four successors of the Prophet, which, with their moral epithets, occupy the angular compartments. The place of coinage appears to be *Ahmed-abád*, the capital of Guzerat. Its epithet, following the word دار 'sedes,' is not quite distinct, but is probably خلص 'puritatis' or خلاص 'salutis.'

DCCCXIX.—DCCCXXV.

اكبر *AKBAR.*

SILVER, An. 987.

I. AREA. ضرب دار السلطنة فتح پور ۹۸۷ &c. جلال الدين

Jelâl ed-dîn, &c. Cuditur in sede regia *Fatah-pûr*. 987 (1579).

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN. &c. بصدق ابي بكر

Per veritatem *Abi-bekr*, &c.

7 dw. 6½ gr. 988. 7 dw. 3 gr. 989. 7 dw. 2¾ gr. 993. 7 dw. 7 gr. 995. 7 dw. 8½ gr. 998. 7 dw. 7 gr.

These six square *rupîhs* differ little from each other excepting in their successive dates, and belong to the same class with that of the year 986. The place of coinage is the new city of *Fatah-pûr* 'urbs victoriæ,' which about this period was built by *Akbar* at the distance of twenty-seven miles south-west from *Agrah*. Its great mosque was completed in the year above-mentioned.

DCCCXXVI.—DCCCXXVII.

اكبر *AKBAR.*

GOLD, An. 988.

I. AREA. ضرب دار السلطنة لاهور ۹۸۸ &c. جلال الدين

Jelâl-ed-dîn, &c. Cuditur in sede regia, *Lâhawar*. 988. (1580).

II. AREA. Third symbol, in a lozenge.

MARGINAL ANGLES. As in coin of 987. 7 dw. 20 gr.

This

This very perfect gold coin differs from that of 987 only in the place of coinage. Another of the same kind, equally handsome, has the words GOLD, AN. 988.

ضرب دار السلطنة فتحپور ۹۸۸

Cuditur in sede regia *Fatah-pûr* 988, 7 dw. 19 gr.

DCCCXXVIII.

اکبر *AKBAR.*

I. AREA. Deus (est) maximus. الله اکبر

SILVER, AN. (996)

II. AREA. جل جلاله الهی ۳۲

Gloria ejus effulget. Anno solari s. epochæ sacræ 32. (1588-996).

7 dw. 5 gr.

According to the description given in the Ayin Akbari of the coin named جلالی *jilâleh*, this square silver piece must be of that denomination, and is the first that has occurred. The legends exactly correspond, but there is an evident mistake in the assertion that they are the same as those on the round *rupîh*, for the latter are found to be quite different, as well on *Akbar's* own coinage as on the *rupîhs* of *Shîr Shâh*, which *Abu'l Fazl* himself allows to have served as a model for the others. To what cause this and other inaccuracies of the same nature, with the entire omission in his work of the most general legend, are to be attributed, it is not easy to conjecture.(1)

Akbar, whose religious principles were not those of a scrupulous mussulman, had the good sense to perceive that their lunar year of 354 days was

(1) "Mirum videri possit, in hac numorum varietate nostri nûmi titulum plane non commemorari.... Malim tamen statuere, hanc epigraphen, ut notam et vulgarem, ab auctore omissam esse ubi Mohurorum mentionem facit." T. C. Tychsen, de numis Indicis, p. 185. I am inclined to suspect that the laboured variety of denominations, with their subdivisions, set forth by *Abu'l Fazl*, are enumerated from a plan arranged for the mint by his imperial master and himself, rather than from an examination of the actual currency.

GOLD, An. (996). was ill adapted to the civil, and particularly the agricultural concerns of his subjects, and in the year 992 of the *hejrah* established throughout his dominions the use of a solar reckoning, to which he gave the appellation of الهي *ilahî* 'divinus,' to commence from the year of his own accession, which took place in 963 of the Mahometan or 1556 of the Christian era.(2) He adopted, in fact, the principles of the Jelalæan or Melicæan epoch, which counts the years (as in the Hindu system also) from the sun's entering the constellation of Aries, together with the ancient Persian names of the solar months.

This coin, it appears, was struck in the year 32 of the new era, or of the monarch's reign, answering to 1588 of ours, and consequently to 996 of the *hejrah*. The month is not expressed, and perhaps the practice did not at first obtain; but it will hereafter be seen that the names of those months in which the striking of the coins respectively took place, form a part of the brief legend.(3) In the phrase of *Allah akbar* 'Deus (est) maximus,' it is obvious than an allusion, not free from impiety, to the name of the emperor, is intended.

DCCCXXIX.

(2) *Akbar* was crowned on the 5th of the second *rabî* or 94th day of the year 963, which began on the 15th Nov. 1555; and by adding that number of days we have the 17th Feb. 1556 for the accession and commencement of the *ilahi* reckoning.

(3) "His majesty (says his intelligent minister) had long been desirous of establishing a new æra in Hindostan, in order to remove the perplexity that a variety of dates unavoidably occasion. He disliked the word *hijera* (flight), but was apprehensive of offending ignorant men, who superstitiously imagine that this æra and the Mahommedan faith are inseparable; although it be evident to the sensible part of mankind, that dates are only of use in worldly transactions, and can have no connection with religion. But as the world abounds with ignorant people, whilst the number of the wise and discerning is but small, he delayed carrying his intention into execution, till the 992d year of the *hijera*, when his light having shone upon mankind and enlarged their understandings, he embraced that opportunity for effecting this purpose. The illustrious *Emeer Futtah Ullah Sheerazy* corrected the calendar from the astronomical tables of *Ulugh Beg*, making this æra to begin with his majesty's reign; and contemplating the character of the monarch, named it *Tarikh Ilahee* (or the mighty æra). The years and months are both natural solar, without any intercalations. The names of the months and days correspond with the ancient Persian." Ayin Akb. vol. I. p. 344. See a Paper 'on the Chronology of the Hindoos,' by the writer of this, in vol. LXXX. of the Philosophical Transactions, for the year 1790, p. 573, where an uncertainty is expressed respecting the origin of what is there termed the 'Bengal era,' and which is removed by the foregoing observations on the *ilahi* year of *Akbar*. When treating of the subject, thirty-five years since, I was not aware of the important assistance to be derived from the generally faithful record of the coinage.

DCCCXXIX.—DCCCXXX.

اكبر *AKBAR.*

COPPER, An. 1000.

I. AREA. جلال الدين &c. ضرب اردو ظفرقرين الف

Jelâl ed-dîn, &c. Cuditur in castro victoriæ magnifico, (anno) 1000 (1591).

II. AREA. Third symbol, with a rose, in a lozenge.

MARGINA. بصدق ابي بكر بعدل عمر
بحياي عثمان بعلم علي

Per veritatem *Abi-bekr*, per justitiam *Omar*, per modestiam *Othmân*, per scientiam *Ali*. 7 dw. 19 gr. 7 dw. 19½ gr.

This gold coin, of the old type, was struck, as the legend expresses, in the imperial camp, during one of *Akbar's* progresses to the valley of *Kashmîr*, to the delightful temperature of which the Moghul emperors of Hindustan were in the habit of resorting, in order to avoid the oppressive summer heat of the provinces in the more southern part of their dominions.

The date of the *hejrah*, 1000, is expressed by the Arabic term الف *alf*, instead of numerical figures; and from it we perceive that the use of the *ilahi* or solar reckoning was not exclusively adopted. A conspicuous rose on the Reverse seems to be intended for something more than ornament.

Another fine specimen of the same year, and coined under the same circumstances, has the symbol inscribed in a square instead of a lozenge, and the rose on the Obverse.

A gold coin of this period of *Akbar's* reign, in the collection of the late Mr. Payne Knight, who kindly allowed me to make a drawing of it, is probably unique. It presents on one side, without an inscription, the figure of a bird, that might be supposed a falcon, were it not, unappropriately, surrounded with ornaments of flowers. On the other side are the words

الله

GOLD, An. 1000.

٤٥ الله اكبر ضرب اسير اسفندارمذ الهي

Deus est maximus (*akbar*). Cuditur in *Asîr*, *isfendârmaz* (mense duodecimo) a. s. 45. (1601-1010). 7 dw. 15 gr.

This example of deviation from the strict practice of islaemism, which rejects images, seems to have led the way to the licentious representations of the succeeding reign.(1) The characters forming the name of the place of coinage appear to be اسير *Asîr*, which was that of a fortress in the Dekan, near *Ahmed-nagar*, taken about this time by the arms of the emperor, in which great treasures were found.(2) This we may presume to have been one of the pieces struck on the occasion, and the bird may have some figurative allusion to the conquest.

In Mrs. Welland's cabinet are several half-rupihs, circular, but with the *jelâleh* legend and *ilahi* date, which may be thought to come under the denomination of ضرب *durb*, as described in the Ayin Akbari. Their Reverses, which vary in respect to place and date, are as follows:

٤٢ ضرب احمد اباد (ماه) ابان الهي

Cuditur in *Ahmed-abâd* (mense) *Abân* (octavo) anni solaris 42. (1598-1006-7). 3 dw. 16 gr.

٤٣ ضرب پتنه خورداد الهي

Cuditur in *Patnah*, *Khûrdâd*, (tertio) a. s. 43.

ضرب

(1) In the 'Traité des Monnaies, &c.' of the Paris Mint, Pl. 4 no. I., is the engraving of a silver medal with the head, or bust, of *Akbar*, the inscription of which states, that he was born in 949 (1542), ascended the throne in 962 (1555), and *died* in 1014 (1605). It must, consequently, have been struck under the auspices of *Jehângîr*, his successor, and, it may be presumed, soon after the decease; but no intelligible date appears. On the Reverse, indeed, we find the numeral figures 962, or what were probably intended for such; the decimal being ambiguous. These, however, are only the year of *Akbar's* accession repeated; and it is remarkable that they differ from the date usually assigned to that event by historians. "The omrahs (says Dow, from Ferishtah), who were present, after expressing their grief for the deceased, raised *Akbar* to the throne, on the second of the second *ribbi*, in the year 963, being then thirteen years and nine months old." Vol. II. p. 232.

(2) "Ahmednagur was taken in the beginning of the year 1009: the strong fortress of Asere, some months after, was surrendered to the king: an immense treasure, which had been accumulated there for many ages, fell into *Akbar's* hands." Dow., vol. II. p. 317.

ضرب لاهور اذر الهي ۴۴ GOLD, An. 1000.

Cuditur in *Lâhawar*, *Adzar* (nono) a. s. 44.

ضرب لاهور دي الهي ۴۴

Cuditur in *Lâhawar*, *Dei* (decimo) a. s. 45.

ضرب لاهور دي الهي ۴۲

Cuditur in *Lâhawar* (mense) *Dei* (decimo) a. s. 46. (1602-1011).

3 dw. 16 gr.

DCCCXXXI.—DCCCXXXII.

اكبر *AKBAR.*

II. AREA. الله اكبر جلال جلاله SILVER, An.(1014).

Deus est maximus. Gloria ejus effulget.

II. AREA. ضرب ... فروردي الهي ۴۹

Cuditur in .... (mense) *Ferverdi* (primo) anni solaris 49 (1605-1014).

7 dw. 6 gr.

This silver *jelâleh* was struck in the first month of the solar year 49. Of the letters that expressed the name of the place the lower part is cut off by the want of space for the impression, and the reading is doubtful. It should be observed that in the name of the month the letter ن, with which it is commonly made to terminate, being written *Ferverdîn*, is here omitted, and not accidentally, inasmuch as the ي has the shape belonging to it as a final letter.

There is also a small copper coin of the forty-seventh year.

DCCCXXXIII.

DCCCXXXIII.

اکبر *AKBAR.*

GOLD, An.(1014)

I. AREA. As in the preceding.

II. AREA. ضرب اگره امرداد الهي ۴۹

Cuditur in *Agrah* (mense) *Murdâd*, (quinto) anni solaris 49. (1605-1014). 7 dw. $0\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

The year in the fourth month of which this gold coin was struck closed the long and celebrated reign of *Akbar*. It is of the peculiar shape to which the term of 'scalloped' has been applied, and is evidently the چاهر گوش or 'four-eared' of the Ayin Akbari; there said to be "of the same weight and impression as the *aftaby*," with which latter its inscription entirely corresponds.

The name of the *Jelalæan* month مرداد *Murdâd* is preceded by the letter ا, the object of which is not apparent.

DCCCXXXIV.

اکبر *AKBAR.*

SILVER, An. ...

I. AREA. جلال الدين محمد اکبر پادشاه غازي

Jelál-ed-dîn Muhammed Akbar pâd-shâh ghâzi.

II. AREA. Third symbol.

3 dw. $15\frac{1}{4}$ gr. 3 dw. $14\frac{3}{4}$. 3 dw. $14\frac{3}{4}$ gr. 3 dw. $15\frac{1}{4}$ gr. 3 dw. $14\frac{3}{4}$ gr.

The inscription on several half-*rupîhs* does not express either place or date, and though arranged at the end of the series of *Akbar's* coins, I am

am disposed to believe that they were struck previously to the establishment of the *ilahî* reckoning. It is only by comparing a variety of specimens that the whole of the reading can be made out. SILVER, An. ...

DCCCXXXV.

نور الدين جهانگير شاه *NÛR ED-DÎN JEHANGÎR SHÂH.*

I. AREA. Effigies supernæ partis figuræ imperatoris, manu dextra elevata cyathum tenentis GOLD, An. 1020.

شبه جهانگير شاه اكبر شاه سنه شش جلوس

Imago Jehângîr Shâh (ben) Akbar Shâh. Anno regni sexto.

II. AREA. Sol in constellatione Leonis.

سنه هجري ١٠٢٠

Anno epochæ muhammedanæ 1020 (1611).

7 dw. 9 gr. with small ring.

Jehângîr succeeded to the throne of his illustrious father in the year 1014 (1605), and this medal (for such it must be termed), although struck in the sixth year after his accession, is amongst the earliest specimens of his coinage that have been preserved to our time. That it, and others of the same description, could not have been intended for general circulation is evident; for independently of the prevailing religious scruples on the subject of images, as savouring o fidolatry, the public morals were not so far depraved as to tolerate the licentious exhibition of a sovereign in the act of lifting to his head a cup of liquor; which would be esteemed indecorous even in a country where the use of wine was not forbidden.(1) It

(1) The perfect candour, or indifference, with which *Jehângîr*, in his Memoirs, avows his propensity to this vice, is remarkable. " One of these orders (he says) related to the prohibition of

SILVER, An. 1020. It must be observed, at the same time, that the example of striking coins or medals with a figure was first set, in this dynasty, by *Akbar* himself, as we have noticed in one of the year 1010–1601, which gives the inoffensive representation of a bird.

The Arabic language, hitherto so generally employed by Mahometan princes in the inscriptions on their coinage, is here discontinued and the Persian substituted. Accordingly we find the numeral word شش instead of ست 6, for the year of the reign. On that of *Akbar*, and of some of his predecessors, the titles are Persian, and the remainder of the legend Arabic. The affectation of omitting the term of filiation, بن *ben* or ابن *ibn*, between the name of the son and that of the father, prevails on all the money of this reign.

On the Reverse we find the emblematic representation of the sun in the constellation of Leo; which, however, has no immediate connexion with the series of zodiacal mohurs and rupihs subsequently coined, and which will be hereafter described; although it may have suggested the idea. It was probably an imitation of the celebrated dirhems of one of the Seljukian Sultans of Iconium (vid. no. LXXXIX. P. I. p. 96. and Pl. v.); some of which may be presumed to have found their way to Hindustan, as well as to Persia. The words سنه هجري anno epochæ muhammedanæ, are here used to distinguish the date from that of the *ilahí* or solar year, conspicuous on the coinage of his father. By an eminent orientalist these have been mistaken for سنه عجري anno producente vinum, which the characters nearly resemble, and which in the examination of a single specimen might well be confounded with them. The suspicion, indeed, is not unreasonable, that an equivoque was intended; but a less excusable error is that of the word شبه 'effigies, imago' being taken by the same writer for the name of سليم *Selím*, which, although it was the original

of the sale of liquors and every thing else of an intoxicating nature, notwithstanding that I had myself, from the age of eighteen to thirty eight, been constantly addicted to them. When I first began the practice, I used to drink sometimes twenty cups in the day of double distilled liquors. In the course of time, however, it had a sensible effect upon me, and I resolved to diminish the quantity. In the space of seven years I reduced the quantity from fifteen to six or seven cups ..... At present I drink it only for the sake of digesting my food." Extracts from the Memoirs of *Jehángír* translated by Mr. James Anderson. Asiat. Miscell. vol. II. p. 77.

original name of *Jehângîr*, was never used by him after his accession to the throne.(2) SILVER, An. 1020.

DCCCXXXVI.

نور الدين جهانگير شاه *NÛR ED-DÎN JEHANGIR SHÂH.*

I. AREA. Effigies ejusdem imperatoris, manu non poculum sed librum tenentis GOLD, An. 1020.

شبه جهانگير شاه اكبر شاه سنه ٦ جلوس

Effigies *Jehângîr Shâh (ben) Akbar Shâh.* Anno regni 6.

II. AREA. Sol in constellatione Leonis.

سنه ١٠٢٠ هجري

Anno epochæ muhamm. 1020 (1611). 7 dw. 6 dw. 23½ grs.

The date of this medal is the same as that of the preceding, and their inscriptions differ only in the immaterial circumstance of the year of the reign being expressed by a numerical figure instead of the Persian word; but in the portrait of the emperor the variation is considerable, not only in the style of execution, but in the remarkable distinction of the hand being employed in grasping a book, instead of raising to his head a cup of liquor; from whence it may be conjectured that the former type being the subject of public scandal, an influence from some quarter was exerted to

(2) "Now that I had become a king *(Jehângîr* says in another part of his Memoirs), it occurred to me that I ought to change my name, which was liable to be confounded with that of the Cæsars of Rome. (Meaning the Ottoman emperors of Constantinople, some of whom had borne the name of *Selîm.)* The secret inspirer of thoughts suggested to me, that as the business of kings is the conquest of the world, I ought to assume the name of *Jehangeer,*" (which has that signification). P. 73.

GOLD, An. 1020. to correct the immorality, by the substitution of one that represented the sovereign in a dignified attitude; as the protector, not the violator of the holy law. Of this latter there are in the collection two specimens, from different dies, in one of which the head or bust is larger than in the other, and on the Reverses the figure of the lion passant is turned in opposite directions.

Many years ago I had an opportunity of making the drawing of a very handsome gold coin of this emperor, without a figure, but ornamented with a rich border, then belonging to Mr. R. Hannay. The Area of I. is occupied with the name of *Núr ed-dîn Jehângîr Shâh (ben) Akbar Shâh.* On II. in a lozenge, are the words,

ضرب اگره في ماه اسفندار الهي ٦ سنه ١٠٢١

Cuditur in *Agrah* mense solari *Isfendar* (anno regni) 6, anno epochæ 1021 (1612).

It appears, therefore, that although the reckoning of the *hejrah* had advanced one year since the coinage of the medals last described, the solar year of the reign was still six; which might obviously happen, as the accession of *Jehângîr* took place in the middle of the year 1014 (October 1605), and consequently his sixth year would embrace the latter half of 1020 and former half of 1021. The month of *Isfendâr* was the twelfth and last of the Jelalæan year.(1)

(1) "اسفندارمذ *Isphendârmaz*, xxx. Feb. In Turcarum calenderiis Jelalæis aliquando scribitur اسفندار *Isphendâr*, apocopatâ syllabâ ultimâ." Hyde, Vet. Pers. &c. religionis historia, p. 189. ed. 1760.

DCCCXXXVIII.

جهانگیر شاه *JEHÂNGÎR SHÂH.*

I. Area. Effigies imperatoris sedentis, manu elevata cyathum tenentis. Gold, An. 1023.

Ad latus sinistr. قضا بر سکه زر کرد تصویر

Ad dextrum شبه حضرت شاه جهانگیر

Decreto divino fingitur in monetam auream effigies majestatis regis *Jehângîr.*

II. Area. Centro, Sol.

Parte inferiori ز روز ازل در عدد شد برابر

Parte superiori حروف جهانگیر و الله اکبر

A die æternitatis, quoad numerum (potestatem numeralem), equales fuerunt Literæ (verborum) *Jehângîr* et *Allah akbar.*

Lateribus. یا معین سنه ۹ ضرب اجمیر ۱۰۲۳

O Defensore! Anno (regni) 9. Cuditur in *Ajmîr* 1023 (1614).

6 dw. 23 gr.

This bacchanalian medal, like the former of the year 1020, owes its appearance to that disregard of morals and addiction to liquor which marked the character of the dissolute but splendid *Jehângîr.* Attempts have been made to give to the words of the inscriptions indelicate meanings, but in this respect they are obviously inoffensive, and even the impiety that has been attributed to the poetical passage on the Reverse, which announces the important discovery that the numerical powers of the letters composing his own title and those in the words *Allah akbar,* are equal in their sum, may be questioned, and the object of the foolish conceit may be considered rather as affecting a comparison with his father *Akbar,* by whom those words had been adopted as a punning device, than a desire to place himself on a level with the Deity. The

GOLD, An. 1023. The nature of the *Abjed* or literal numeration, will be hereafter explained on an occasion (the coinage of *Tipû Sultân*) where a knowledge of it is more essential, and for the present it will be sufficient to notice that, as ج 3, ح 8, ا 1, ن 50, ك 20, ي 10, and ر 200, constitute the number 292, so do ا 1, ل 30, ل 30, ح 8, ا 1, ك 20, ب 2, and ر 200. (Vid. Extracts from the *Toozuké Jehangeery*, or Memoirs of Jehangeer written by himself, and translated by James Anderson. Asiat. Miscellany, vol. II. p. 81. Calcutta 1786, 4to.)

The words يامعين O Defensore! afford an instance of the fondness shewn by Persian epigrammatists for comprising in a single term as many allusive significations as can be brought to bear upon the subject. These are, in the first place, an invocation to the Deity. In the next, the word expresses the name of the celebrated saint *Khoja* معين *Mayen ed-dîn Chishti*, by the efficacy of whose prayers and other pious exertions, *Akbar* was blessed with a son, and heir to his throne: and, lastly, we are informed in the *Ayin Akbari* (vol. I. p. 33.) that معيني *moieeny* (*mòyini*) is the name of a gold coin, "sometimes made square, and sometimes of a round form, in weight and value the same as the *laal jilaly*; impressed with O, Defender."

The circumstance of placing a figure of the sun in the centre of the Area, if not merely ornamental, may perhaps be accounted for by an expression in one of the Regulations annexed to his Memoirs, where he forbids the killing of animals "on every Sun-day, because he was *born* on that day, as well as on account of its being under the immediate influence of the sun." Gladwin, p. 99.

Although the general coinage of the empire was carried on in various provinces, as well as in the capital, it is natural to conclude that a medal of this peculiar description could only be executed where the emperor actually held his court. The place is *Ajmîr*, in the western part of Hindustan; and accordingly we find that in the year 1022 he undertook a journey thither for the purpose of visiting the shrine of the saint beforementioned. His granddaughter, the celebrated princess *Jehân Ara begum*, was born at this frontier city.

A good specimen of the same medal is preserved in the collection of Mr. Payne Knight; another in the Museum of the East-India Company; and

and my friend Mr. James Anderson, whose translation of a part of *Jehângîr's* original Memoirs has been referred to, mentions his being possessed of one of them. In the cabinet of Mrs. Welland, also, there is a medal having the same general character and same inscriptions, struck at *Ajmîr* in the eighth year of the reign, but differing from all that have been described, in these respects; that the figure holding the cup, as well as the lion and sun on the Reverse, occupy only a small space in the centre of the Areas, having the legends circularly disposed around them, in a double line formed by the latter syllable of each word being placed over the first part of that to which it belongs. GOLD, An. 1023.

DCCCXXXIX.

جهانگير شاه *JEHÂNGÎR SHÂH.*

I. AREA. نور الدين جهانگير شاه اكبر شاه GOLD, An. 1024.

Nûr ed-dîn Jehângîr Shâh (ben) Akbar Shâh.

II. AREA. ضرب اگره ماه اردي بهشت الهي ۱۰ سنه ۱۰۲۴

Cuditur in *Agrah* mense solari *Ardî-behesht* (secundo), (regni) 10, anno 1024 (1615). 7 dw. 1 gr.

This well-executed *muhr*, in which the characters, in the *nishkhi* style, are remarkably distinct, was brought from India by Lord Valentia (Mountnorris), from whom I obtained it. The name of the second month of the Persian year is here, as by the learned Hyde, and in the Ayin Akbari, written *Ardî-*, but in Ulug-beig's Epochæ celebriores, *Arda-behesht.*

A few years after the date of the peculiar medals that have just been described, and at a period when the ornamental arts and every thing that contributed

contributed to give splendour to the throne were liberally encouraged, the coins distinguished by the appellation of 'Zodiac-rupihs' made their appearance.

By the historian of *Jehângîr's* reign we are informed that "in A. H. 1027, or thirteenth of his reign, he commanded that in future gold mohurs should be impressed on one side with the sign of the zodiac in which the sun happened to be when the money was coined, and on the Reverse the following inscription, &c. with the year of the hegira, and place where it was struck:"(1) but as this brief state-memorandum of their origin does not correspond with the popular tradition, which ascribes them to the ambition or vanity of his empress, a woman of extraordinary beauty, talents, and accomplishments, who in fact ruled the empire during the greater part of his reign, it may be desirable to bring into one point of view whatever is known upon the subject.

The earliest European author by whom they are noticed (so far as I am aware) is Tavernier, who resided at the court of *Aurung-zêb*, the grandson of *Jehângîr*, about the year 1665, and who consequently might be supposed to have had good opportunities of learning the circumstances under which they were issued from the mint. His account of the personage to whose influence they are attributed is in substance as follows: 'The father of this illustrious queen of the Indians was a Persian officer of horse, who travelling to Hindustan to advance his fortunes, was employed and promoted by the emperor; but having afterwards taken part with sultan *Khosru*, who rebelled against his father, he was involved in the defeat and ruin of that prince, and would have suffered punishment but for the supplication of his wife, and of his daughter, then about fourteen years of age, a most accomplished beauty, educated with uncommon care, and instructed to read and write the Arabian, Persian, and Indian languages.' It appears, however, that she had been betrothed and was married to a nobleman named *Shîr Afkun*, who afterwards perished in an affray, and not without suspicion of contrivance on the part of *Jehângîr*, to whose *haram* she was immediately conveyed; although in the Memoirs a different

(1) Gladwin, Hist. of Hindostan during the reigns of Jehangir, &c. p. 105.

ferent colouring is given to the transaction. "The most remarkable event of this reign (says Gladwin, p. 22) is the marriage of the emperor with *Mehr ul Nessa begum*, the daughter of *Etemadeddowlah*, and widow of *Sheer Afkun*. Upon the death of her husband the relations of the late *Kotebeddeen* (who fell in the same scuffle by the hand of *Afkun)* sent her to court; and the emperor, in his affliction for the loss of his friend, committed her to the charge of *Rokiah Sultana begum*, one of *Akber's* widows, with whom she lived, unnoticed by the emperor, till the present festival of the new year, when seeing her by accident, he was so captivated by her extraordinary beauty, that he married her immediately. (An. 1020–1611). He then gave her the title of *Nour Mahl* (light of the seraglio), and some years after, that of *Nour Jehân begum* (light of the world) . . . . . Her power over the emperor soon became absolute, and all affairs of the state were committed to her management . . . . Her name was inscribed upon the coin, and excepting that she was not prayed for in the *khotbah*, she was in every respect the absolute monarch of the empire." But to return to Tavernier:

"The queen being ambitious, and having a great desire to eternise her memory, could not devise a better way than to coin a large quantity of money in her own name, and of a different stamp from that which the kings were wont to coin. In order to effect this, she solicited, with many blandishments, that she might be allowed to reign as sovereign for the space of only twenty-four hours; which, after much hesitation, the king, unable to resist her charms and importunity, at length consented to grant. Having long before this caused large quantities of gold and silver to be accumulated for the purpose, and having distributed dies impressed with the figures of the twelve signs of the zodiac to the cities where mints were established, on the day of her sovereignty being fixed, she issued orders for carrying the work into execution, and these were so promptly obeyed, that within a few hours she was enabled to have large sums, in both metals, distributed amongst the people. These passed current throughout the empire during the reign of *Jehângîr;* but when his son, who had always been her political enemy, ascended the throne by the title of *Shâh Jehân*, he forbad the circulation of this money on pain of

death, and commanded that all who were possessed of any, either in gold or silver, should carry it to the mint.' Tavernier further observes, that the queen, during her ephemeral reign, had so much respect for the king as to cause his name to be engraven along with her own, on the Reverse of the coin.

Such was the popular story, to which this curious and diligent, but unphilosophical traveller, appears to have given implicit credit. It will, however, be perceived that it strongly partakes of the character of those romantic tales which in India and other parts of the East are professionally told. Many of the minuter circumstances with which it is embellished in Tavernier's recital, and which for the sake of brevity are here omitted, were not of a nature to become known, even to the courtiers of that day, as they must have passed in the utmost privacy of the *haram;* others are inconsistent with probability; and the essential fact asserted, of the queen's name constituting a part of the inscription, is disproved by the general evidence of the coins themselves, with one or two exceptions to be hereafter noticed. The circumstance, indeed, of their also exhibiting a variety of dates, is quite sufficient to shew that the story of their simultaneous execution is entirely unfounded.

The engravings furnished by Tavernier as representations of the twelve zodiacal coins, are not merely ill-designed and incorrect, but have so little analogy to the originals as to justify the supposition of their having been delineated from imperfect recollection, after his return to Europe; and with regard to the inscriptions, of which he has given two very rude specimens (one of them inverted), it is remarkable that they do not contain the name of *Núr Jehân.*(1)

The next description of these coins appears in the work of an intelligent Dutch traveller named Bógaert, who visited the East Indies about the year 1703. He informs us, that, having obtained at Batavia some of the silver zodiacal rupihs from the cabinet of a friend who was "a

(1) See the six Travels of J. B. Tavernier through Turkey and Persia to the Indies, Part. II. plate, p. 10. London 1684, Fo. His erudition has elsewhere been very lowly rated.

"a curious collector of foreign coins," he shewed them to the natives of Bengal, both Mahometan and Hindu, the former of whom regarded them with abhorrence, but the latter with curiosity and admiration, as things of which they had often heard and never before seen.(2) He then repeats from Tavernier the fabulous account of their origin, and the mistake of their commonly bearing the name of the queen. The engraving, however, which accompanies his description, where the coins are fancifully disposed round the throne of *Núr-Jehân*, is excellent, and the resemblance perfect. He adds that the cabinet of Jacob de Wilde of Amsterdam contained sets of the gold and siver rupihs, with the exception of Aquarius in the latter metal, which is likewise deficient in this collection.(3)

Anquetil du Perron, an enterprizing and learned traveller, to whom Indian literature is much indebted, and who resided three years at Surat, enumerates among those who governed the provice of *Guzerat*, the consort of *Jehângîr*. He gives, in Roman characters, the inscription of money coined by the empress, at *Ahmedabâd*, the capital of the province, in

(2) This is corroborated by information received from Mr. Crow, late chief of the English factory at Surat, who, at the desire of our mutual friend Mr. G. Simson, obligingly collected and sent to England (with many other curious coins) a set of Zodiac-gold-muhrs, that now ornament this cabinet. "The Hindus of the present day, he says, entertain a superstitious veneration for the heavenly allusions of these coins, and, according to the sign of the month, place a corresponding rupih at the feet of their household-god, and occasionally hang them round the necks of their wives and children." In a subsequent letter to Mr. S., of January 1808, he proceeds to say: "I have now the satisfaction of reporting your commission being completed in a manner as gratifying to your friend as you or he could wish, since by much inquiry, a good deal of influence and some money, I have succeeded in getting a complete set of gold zodiac rupees, besides a few other coins. The zodiac rupees are genuine, and the last set perhaps that will ever be collected here; for the indefatigable researches of the foreign factories, when they flourished here, have exhausted all of the coin, but what are scrupulously hoarded for pious or superstitious uses. Nearly twenty years since Mr. Griffith gave 2000 rupees for a set, and money alone could not have procured those I send you; most of which I owe to the kind accommodation of a native of this place, named *Dhunjee Shah Behramund Khan*. Such as they are it is not imposing a favor on you to request you will accept them, for you have claims, &c. I shall still continue on the look out for your friend Mr. Marsden, and when my gleanings reach any size, transmit them to you."

(3) Reizen door Asia, p. 310.

in her own name, but under the sanction of the emperor ;(4) which is also to be found in Gladwin's History (p. 23), in the Persian character ; and the same distich (with a slight variation of the initial particles) will appear in the description hereafter given of one of her rupihs (not zodiacal) bearing the date of 1034.

In the Appendix to Major Edward Moor's " Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment, and of the Mahratta Army, &c." there is a plate of the zodiac-rupihs, executed with great skill and fidelity from a set collected by Mr. W. Ashburner of Bombay, and then in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Morgan of Southgate. The engravings are accompanied with several judicious explanatory observations, and a translation of that part of Professor Tychsen's " Introductio in rem numariam Muhammedanorum " which relates to the subject. With respect to the Major's assertion, in which he is justified by common report, that spurious imitations of these peculiar coins were fabricated by the Hollanders at Batavia, several reasons may be assigned for doubting its correctness ; although the fact of their having been imitated is indisputable.

To

(4) " Voici la légende de ces roupies. ' *Behokhm Schah Djehanguir iaft sad zevar : Benam Nourdjehan Padeschah Beigom zar.*' C'est-à-dire, ' par l'ordre du Roi Djehanguir, l'or a acquis cent (degrés d') excellence, en (recevant) le nom de Nour djehan Beigom, Roi.' Tiré du Djehanguir namah, ouvrage composé par le Nabab Motamet Khan, Général de la Cavalerie de Djehanguir, et le compagnon de ses voyages." Zend-Avesta, t. I. p. CCLXVII.

As M. Anquetil's expressions imply that the Memoirs of *Jehangír* were not in fact composed by that monarch himself, it is necessary to give the circumstantial testimony of Mr. Gladwin to this point. His words are : " Jehángír possessed considerable literary abilities. He added some chapters to the emperor Baber's Commentaries, in the Turkish language. He also wrote his own Memoirs in the Persian language, containing a minute account of the political and private conduct of his life, from the commencement of his reign to the end of the twelfth year : they are universally admired for the purity, elegance, and simplicity of the style; and he appears, in general, to have exposed his own follies and weaknesses with great candour and fidelity : when he had completed the memoirs of twelve years, he distributed several copies of them amongst his children and principal officers of his court. He continued these memoirs, with his own hand, till the commencement of the seventeenth year of his reign; when finding himself, from his ill health, unable to proceed, he, from that period to the time of his death, employed Motamid khan as his amanuensis." Hist. of Hindost. p. 91. We have also the respectable authority of Mr. James Anderson, who has enriched the Asiatic Miscellany (of Calcutta) with the original text and translation of some valuable extracts from the work ; and to these may be added the strong internal evidence of the composition itself.

To those who are acquainted with the former state of that colony it is well known that the arts have not been carried there to any degree of perfection. Even its own coinage, of which there are many specimens in the collection, discovers workmanship of a very inferior kind, and such as could not be employed in counterfeiting the elegance of the Persian characters, as they appear on the money of Hindustan during the reign of *Jehângîr;* nor could the attempt answer as a speculation of profit in a part of the world not frequented by the description of persons likely to give an artificial price for such an article of commerce. Possibly the plate which ornaments the work of Bógaert, already mentioned, published at Amsterdam in 1711, may have given occasion to the imputation, although its author expressly says that the set he had seen at Batavia belonged to the cabinet of a curious collector of *foreign* coins.

By some it has been said that the fabrication took place under the influence of Colonel Martin, a Swiss officer in the service of the English East-India Company, although not with any view of profit from their sale, but as an ostentatious and expensive amusement. The story, however, has been contradicted to me by persons to whom he was intimately known. In this collection there is a counterfeit Leo, in gold, and Mr. Payne Knight possesses what appeared to me a counterfeit Aquarius; both of them, seemingly, of the same manufacture, and well executed, but distinguishable from the originals, as well by some small defects in the nice formation of the characters, as by a degree of hardness in the style of engraving the dies.

The cabinet of Mrs. Welland, already so often referred to, contains, besides one of the bacchanalian medals that have been described, ten of the zodiac-rupihs; Scorpio and Aquarius being the deficient signs. These are of silver, and so sharp in the impression and fresh in their appearance, as to give the idea of pattern-pieces just delivered from the mint; but although struck in that metal, the figures and inscriptions are those that belong to the gold and not to the silver series; and notwithstanding the excellence of their workmanship, there is reason to conclude, from an examination of the character and comparison with those of undoubted authenticity, that the dies themselves were only ingenious imitations of the genuine gold coinage of *Agrah.* It may further be observed that the legends on the

the several pieces, though bearing different dates (corresponding to their respective originals) were all cut by the same hand, and are so precisely similar to each other as to warrant the inference that they were all executed at the same time. The present possessor received them as a complete set; without any explanation as to the source from whence they were obtained.(5)

In the splendid work published at Paris in the year 1806, under the title of "Traité des Monnaies d'or et d'argent qui circulent chez les différens peuples, &c. par M. P. F. Bonneville," the subject of these coins is judiciously examined, and illustrated by accurate engravings.(6) Among them we find one of Sagittarius (Pl. II. no. 9), which is remarkable for its inscription, as containing the name of *Núr Jehân* along with that of the emperor. It is from the mint of *Lahawar* or *Lahôr*, and said to be of the year 1035, being eight years subsequent to the original silver coinage at *Ahmedâbâd*; nor has a zodiac-rupih of so late a date appeared in any other collection. It is not very material to add that in the course of that year the emperor and empress were made prisoners by *Mehâbut khân*, on the banks of the Hydaspes, because the coinage might have taken place in an early part of the same year, or might not have been interrupted by a knowledge of the event.(7)

DCCCXL.

(5) Thunberg speaks of a complete gold set purchased by him in Amsterdam, for the sum of 700 guilders, or about £60. (Resa, IV Delen, p. 298. Upsala 1793). From what has been stated as the result of examinations, the reader will be aware that the assertion 'complete sets' is not to be implicitly received, as they may be numerically completed with specimens of doubtful genuineness.

(6) The critical treatise which precedes his descriptions is rendered particularly interesting by the learned and judicious observations of the Baron S. de Sacy; by whom also the translation of the legends was chiefly made.

(7) The following account (from Dow's translation of Ferishtah's history) of the circumstances under which the life of this celebrated woman closed may not be uninteresting to the reader: "The emperor (*Shâh Jehân*) had not been returned to Lahore many days (in the year 1055-1645) before the famous Noor Jehan, the favourite sultana of his father Jehangire, died in her palace in that city. Twenty five thousand pounds had been annually paid to her out of the treasury; and as her power ceased with the death of her consort, she was too proud even to speak of public affairs, and she therefore gave up her mind to study, retirement, and ease. The extraordinary beauty of her person has been already mentioned; we shall now delineate the features of her mind. Her abilities were uncommon; for she rendered herself absolute in a government in which women are thought incapable of bearing any part. Their power, it is true, is sometimes exerted in the haram;

DCCCXL.—DCCCXLI.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Aries.

I. Area. Sol in constellatione Arietis. Silver, An. 1027.
Anno regni 13. سنه جلوس ١٣

II. Area. جهانگير پادشاه اكبر پادشاه ضرب احمداباد ١٠٢٧
Jehângîr pâd-shâh (ben) Akbar pâd-shâh. Cuditur in *Ahmed-âbâd.*
1027 (1617). 7 dw. 8 gr. 7 dw. 7½ gr.

In the original coinage of zodiac-rupihs, which appears to have taken place in the capital of the province of Guzerat, the silver preceded that of the gold at *Agrah*, by one year; and of the former metal none have occurred of an earlier date than this of 1027.(1) It was also the thirteenth solar year of the emperor's reign, and the seventh of his marriage with *Nûr Mahall*, afterwards *Nûr Jehân bêgum.* The specimens, in duplicate, are in remarkably good preservation, and the inscriptions on both sides complete; but it is proper to remark that although on the one (selected for engraving) the year of the reign seems to be ١٤ 14, it is on the other distinctly ١٣ 13.

haram; but, like the virtues of the magnet, it is silent and unperceived. Noor Jehân stood forth in public. She broke through all restraint and custom, and acquired power by her own address, more than by the weakness of Jehangire." Vol. III. p. 195.

(1) G. O. Tychsen, however, in his Additamentum, p. 79, speaks of three zodiac rupihs of an earlier coinage, preserved in Adler's cabinet, at Berlin: a Cancer of 1026; a Leo of 1022, and a Taurus of 1026; all from the mint of *Ahmed-âbâd.* These dates, it must be observed, are not recognised by any other writers on the subject, and some anomalies in the readings of the first and third lessen their authority. With respect to the second, or Leo, the numeral figures of the engraving have more resemblance to ١٠٢٧ 1027, than to ١٠٢٢ 1022, and the ٣ 3 that appears where the year of the reign is expressed, shews evidently that ١٣ 13 was the date intended.

DCCCXLII.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÍR.*

Taurus.

SILVER, An. 1027.

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Tauri.
Anno regni 13. سنه جلوس ۱۳

II. AREA. As in the preceding. 7 dw. 5 gr.

The attitude of the Bull in this rupih of the original set is extremely bold, and presents a contrast to what will be found in the gold set of the succeeding year, from the mint of the capital.

DCCCXLIII.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÍR.*

Gemini.

SILVER, An. 1027.

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Geminorum.
Anno (regni) .... سنه

II. AREA. As in the preceding. 7 dw. 5½ gr.

In this specimen, as well as in the Plate of Bógaert, the Twins are placed side by side, the hand of one grasping the body of the other. In those of gold, and consequently in the engravings of Moor and Bonneville, they are face to face. The year of the reign, under their feet, is nearly obliterated.

There

There is also in the collection a half rupih of Gemini, in silver, but obviously imitated from the corresponding sign of the gold set, and with the same inscription. Under these circumstances it cannot be supposed genuine. Its weight is 3 dw. 17 gr. SILVER, An. 1027.

DCCCXL.—DCCCXLIV.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Cancer.

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Cancri. SILVER, An. 1027.
Anno (regni) 13. سنه ۱۳

II. AREA. داد زر را زیور جهانگیر شاه
اکبر شهنشاه احمداباد ۱۰۲۷

Dedit nummo ornamentum *Jehângîr shâh (ben) Akbar shahin-shâh* (regis regum). *Ahmed-âbâd* 1027 (1617). 7 dw. 3 gr.

This rupih bears the date and conforms to the general appearance of the original set, to which it unquestionably belongs; but its legend is different from those of the preceding. It may from hence be thought not improbable, that the dies for the first three signs, whose inscriptions are uniform, were in fact engraved at the same time, preparatory to the coinage, although the rupihs themselves may have been issued successively, in the months corresponding to their respective signs, beginning with April. The same observation, generally, will apply to this of Cancer and some with similar inscriptions that immediately follow.

The title of *shahin-shâh* 'rex regum,' given to the emperor's father, had not before occurred.

DCCCXLV.—DCCCXLVIII.

جهانگير *JEHÁNGÍR.*

SILVER, An. 1027.

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Leonis.
Anno regni 13. ۱۳ سنه جلوس

II. AREA. As in the preceding sign of Cancer.
7 dw. 5½ gr. 3 dw. 3 gr.

The date of the *hejrah* on this rupih of Leo is perfect, but the year of the reign is nearly obliterated. In Bógaert's engraving of a similar coin it is distinct.

A half rupih of the same sign so closely imitates that of the gold set, and particularly in the figure of the lion, as to justify the belief of their being from the same die. From this the engraving in Pl. XL. has, unintentionally, been made, instead of the whole rupih, which is not in equal preservation.

Anquetil du Perron describes a Leo in silver of the year 1028, coined at *Ahmedabâd*, which along with the name of the emperor, bears that of his consort, *Nûr Jehân*.(1)

Of Virgo, in silver, the collection possesses a half rupih only, and that specimen is liable to the doubts suggested respecting the genuineness of those that bear impressions resembling the gold coinage. Its date is 1033, with

(1) "Roupie d'argent d'Ahmedabad... D'un côté, le signe du Lion; et au dessous, saneh 13 djolous; de l'autre côté, 1028 *Ahmedabad ra daver Nour djehan* Djehanguir Schah Akbar: c'est-à-dire, l'an 13 de l'installation, 1028 (de l'Hégire) *Nour djehan* (femme du) roi *Djehanguir* (fils) du roi *Akbar*, étant Gouvernante d'*Ahmedabad*." Zend Av. t. I. p. DXIV. The extreme rarity of these modified exceptions serves to establish the fact generally, that, as Fraser appropriately expresses it, "the coins struck in Jehanguir's reign, with the signs of the Zodiack, were not, as is generally thought in Europe, done by his empress's order; nor did she reign one day, as the common opinion is; but she ruled the person who reigned, for above twelve years." Hist. of Nadir Shah, p. 21. Note.

with 18 as the year of the reign, and it weighs 3 dw. 17 gr. The figure is an uncouth or hideous representation of a female, with large wings, standing cross-legged, and bearing in its left hand what is intended for a spike of corn. Such also is Virgo depicted in the engravings of Bógaert, Moor, and Bonneville; but in a silver cast that I happen to possess, of some unknown original, the female figure is without any præternatural appendages, but has on her head the kind of vessel that is commonly borne by Hindu women, and an ear of corn in her hand. Its date seems to be 1031. SILVER, An. 1027.

Of Libra there is only a silver cast, from an original of 1029. It strongly resembles the Libra of the gold series, in the collection.

DCCCXLIX.—DCCCLI.

جهانگير *JEHÁNGÎR.*

Scorpio.

I. AREA.	Sol in constellatione Scorpionis.	SILVER, An. 1027.
II. AREA.	As in Cancer, Leo, &c. 7 dw.	

Although the inscription on this rupih of Scorpio (which I brought from the East-Indies in the year 1779) has suffered, apparently, from having been current, it is, notwithstanding, quite legible, and particularly the date of 1027. The figure of the animal, executed in a coarse style, corresponds tolerably well with Bógaert's plate, which represents a silver series, as well as with the Scorpio of the gold set that will be hereafter described, but differs essentially from a cast in my possession, and likewise from the plates of Moor and Bonneville. In the latter, it may be observed, the figures of Cancer and of Scorpio have been made to change places.

SILVER, An. 1027. The signs of Sagittarius and Capricornus, in silver, are entirely wanting in the collection. Of Aquarius and Pisces there are specimens of the half rupih only, weighing 3 dw. 17 gr. each, of that set which has been described as bearing the impression of dies belonging to the gold series, or being their exact counterpart, both in the figure and incription. Their date is the year 1028, or that of the first *Agrah* gold coinage.

It may here be allowed me to observe that in no instance has it occurred to me to see a complete set of silver zodiac-rupihs, of unquestionable genuineness, or, in other words, containing the latter signs of the original coinage at *Ahmed-âbâd*, of the year 1027. Bógaert's Plate, it is true, gives representations of the twelve signs, implied to be taken from specimens in silver, but their legends not being annexed, we are deprived of the means of ascertaining whether the set belonging to Jacob de Wilde, from which the drawings were made, was not, like those in all the modern collections, completed in number from the imitations above noticed. Aquarius, in silver, he admits to have been deficient, and that which he has substituted is of doubtful authenticity.

DCCCLII.—DCCCLIII.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Aries.

GOLD, An. 1028.

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Arietis.
Anno regni 14. ۱۴ سنه جلوس

II. AREA. يافت در اگره روي زر زيور
از جهانگير شاه شاه اكبر ۱۰۲۸

Suscepit in *Agrah* facies nummi ornamentum a *Jehângîr shâh (ben) Akbar shâh.* (Anno) 1028 (1618). 7 dw. 0¼ gr.

We

We have seen that in the year 1027 the coinage of zodiac-rupihs, in silver, took place at *Ahmedâbâd*, the capital of Guzerat, of which *Nûr Jehân* was at that period the nominal governor. The experiment having been thus successfully made in a distant province, under her immediate influence, the emperor in that same year, being the thirteenth of his reign, commanded the issue, from the mint of *Agrah*, of "gold *muhrs* that should be impressed with the sign of the zodiac in which the sun happened to be when the money was coined;" which appears from their dates to have been carried into execution in the early part of the hejrah year 1028, whilst it was still the thirteenth year of his reign;(1) as will hereafter be seen in the legend of Pisces, which, although the last of the signs, may, according to the terms of the edict, have been the first issued. GOLD, An. 1028.

The specimen of Aries selected for engraving was obtained from Lord Valentia (Mountnorris), who brought it from India. In its style of workmanship and state of preservation it is rivalled by that (of the same date) which was transmitted by Mr. Crow. It resembles, in the spirited attitude of the Ram, the specimen of the silver set; but the inscriptions on the two metals differ from each other, and this has led to the detection of some counterfeits. In the rythmical arrangement of the words composing the distich a variance prevails amongst the writers by whom the zodiacal coins have been noticed. Its correctness depends upon an acquaintance with Persian prosody, and the disposition adopted in the above, has been sanctioned by the judgment of an experienced friend.

On a second specimen of the sign of Aries we find the year of the hejrah 1030, and of the reign, 16; both dates being placed on the Reverse

(1) Independently of the fact, of the reigns of these emperors being counted by solar years, whilst those of the hejrah are lunar, it must be obvious that there is not a necessary accordance of the year of the reign to that of the era, unless it should have happened that the accession took place on the first day of the current year. But as *Jehângîr* ascended the throne on the 20th day of the sixth month of 1014, it follows that one half of his thirteenth year must have fallen in 1027, and the other half in 1028. It is therefore with some surprise I read the observation of one intelligent author, that "The dissonance of the dates of the hijra, and his reign, is very striking and unaccountable:" and of another, who says: "Si 1029 est la *quinzième* année du règne, necessairement 1032 doit être la *dix-huitième*. De pareilles erreurs existent également sur d'autres pièces: elles sont dues sans doute à la négligence des graveurs qui ont fait les matrices, ou carrés."

GOLD, AN. 1028. Reverse, or side opposite to the figure. Its weight, including a small ring, is 7 dw. 9½ gr. The engraving in M. Bonneville's excellent plate is from a specimen similar to this latter.

DCCCLIV.—DCCCLV.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Taurus.

GOLD, AN. 1028.

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Tauri.

II. AREA. سکه اگره داد زینت زر
از جهانگیر شاه شاه اکبر ۱۰۲۸ ۱۴

Moneta (civitatis) *Agrah* dat auro decorem ex (mandato) *Jehângîr shâh* (filii) *shâh Akbar*. (Anno) 1028. (Regni) 14. 7 dw. 0½ gr.

The inscription on this gold *muhr*, with the sign of Taurus, is peculiar, and neither resembles the preceding one of Aries, nor the Taurus of a subsequent year. Contrary to what was observed of the figure in the silver series, this Bull (of the species distinguished by its gibbous protuberance) is tame and spiritless. The body and head, as in the engravings of Bógaert and Moor, are turned to the left, and the inscription as given by the latter is similar to this.

On another specimen of Taurus, bearing the date of 1030, and 16 of the reign, the inscription corresponds with that on Aries, and on the signs which follow. The head is here turned to the right, as we find it in Bonneville's Plate, and the dates are similar.

DCCCLVI.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Gemini.

I. Area. Sol in constellatione Geminorum. Gold, An. 1033.

II. Area. يافت در اگره روي زر زيور
از جهانگير شاه شاه اكبر ۱۰۳۳ ۱۹

Suscepit in *Agrah* facies nummi ornamentum a *Jehângîr shâh (ben) Akbar shâh.* Anno 1033 (1623), regni 19. 7 dw.

The date of this *muhr* of Gemini is the latest of any zodiacal coin in the collection. That of 1034 in the Paris mint (Sagittarius) has a mistake in the year of the reign. Its inscription is the same as that of Aries and of all those which follow. It may be observed in the engraving of this coin that the Twins are face to face, the heads touching; whereas, in the silver, they are side by side. In M. Bonneville's Plate, and that of Major Moor, the faces do not touch. Their dates (though in the latter there is much obscurity) appear to be intended for 1029, and 15th of the reign.

DCCCLVII.—DCCCLVIII.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Cancer.

I. Area. Sol in constellatione Cancri. Gold, An. 1029.
Anno (regni) 15. ۱۵ سنه

II. Area. As in the preceding. 1029 (1619).
7 dw. 7½ gr. with ring. 7 dw. 3 gr. with ring.

In

GOLD, An. 1029. In this specimen of Cancer, of the year 1029, the numeral figures expressing that of the reign are placed on the Obverse, under the crab, as was the earlier practice. It is the same in Bógaert's engraving, and also in Mr. Payne Knight's set. In Mrs. Welland's it is altogether different, the figure being there circumscribed within a small circle, like the Sagittarius of M. Bonneville's plate. Its date is 1028.

Another specimen of the same sign has both the date of the era, 1030, and the year of the reign ٦ 6, for ١٦, 16, on the Reverse, without any characters under the sign. The Cancer of the Paris mint has the dates of 1033 and 19, and Major Moor's, 1031 and 17, both likewise on the Reverse.

DCCCLIX.—DCCCLX.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Leo.

GOLD, An. 1028.

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Leonis.
Anno (regni) 14. ١٤ سنة

II. AREA. As in the preceding. ١٠٢٨ 1028 (1618).
7 dw. 0½ gr.

The Leo of M. Bonneville's plate is of the year 1029, without the year of the reign. Major Moor's is probably of the same date, although, in consequence of the obscurity of the impression, he reads the figures 1025; but we know from the emperor's edict that the gold coinage was ordered in 1027. What he mentions as the triplicate of Leo, of 1020, is the bacchanalian coin, no. DCCCXXXVI., described at p. 605, which does not form a part of the zodiacal series, though it may be considered as their præcursor. Sol in this particular sign had indeed been affected as

as an emblem or device *(tamgha)*, many ages before, by the *Seljukian* monarchs, from whom it found its way into Persia.(1) GOLD, AN. 1028.

In the collection there is also another Leo, of gold, well executed, but not having the appearance of a genuine coin of *Jehângîr's* mint. The date is 1032, without the year of the reign. About the head and neck of the lion is a species of ornament that I have not observed on any of the unequivocal specimens. The style of engraving is also harder and more formal. Its weight is 6 dw. 21 gr., or about 4 gr. lighter than the others. The Leo of Mrs. Welland's cabinet resembles it in the form and disposition of the characters, and bears the date of 1032, but is not from the same die.

DCCCLXI.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Virgo.

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Virginis. GOLD, AN. 1030.

II. AREA. As in the preceding. ١٠٣٠ 1030 (1620),
(anno regni) ١٦ 16. 7 dw.

This specimen of Virgo, which was procured at Surat by Mr. Crow, differs from all others that have come under my observation, and exhibits, in truth, a very extraordinary representation of celestial beauty. It has none

(1) The zodiacal copper coins in the imperial cabinet of Vienna, spoken of by Fra Paolino, have not any connexion, as he supposes them to have, with the coinage of Hindustan, but are from the mint of *Tabrîz*, in the Persian province of *Adherbijân*, bordering on what was termed, in the middle ages, Turkomania, in which were the seats of the *Seljuk* princes. The reader will find similar pieces described at p. 507, under the head of Persian copper, which is impressed with the figures of a variety of animals.

Gold, An. 1030. none of those peculiarities that have been remarked as distinguishing the spurious imitations of later times, which in all instances were copied from well known originals. The Virgo is here a naked and uncouth figure, in a sitting or crouched posture, with long braided hair, and holding in the right hand an ear of corn. The nimbus or collection of rays, which on most of the other zodiacal coins encompasses the figure, is on this confined to the sides; by which the appearance of a pair of butterfly-wings is suggested.

A cast of Virgo in my possession, and already noticed in describing the silver series, depicts her as a damsel having her right hand raised to a waterpot on her head (agreeably to the Hindu personification of this sign), and holding the ear of corn in her left. The date is 1031, and sixteenth of the reign.

In M. Bonneville's Plate the female figure, in an erect attitude, has large wings, with high pinions, like those given to angels in our graphical illustrations of Scripture. The dates are there 1029 and 15; but in the explanation to no. 6. planche 2de, the characters ١٥ سنه (anno 15) are mistaken for the word سورة *Surat*, or name of the city. In Bógaert's and Maj. Moor's plates also, as well as in Mr. Payne Knight's specimen, which has the dates of 1033 and 19, we find the Virgo represented with pinioned (not butterfly or zephyr) wings. It is not improbable that some western artists may have been employed in the mints.

DCCCLXII.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Libra.

Gold, An. 1032.

I. Area. Sol in constellatione Libræ.

II. Area. As in the preceding. ١٠٣٢ 1032 (1622).
(regni) ١٨ 18. 7 dw.

It

It is remarkable that all the impressions of Libra, of whatever date, exactly resemble each other in the figures of the scales and weights, and that the former differ in nothing material from those now in use throughout Europe. M. Bonneville's specimen is of the years 1030 and 16; Maj. Moor's and Mr. Payne Knight's, of 1032. I possess, also, a cast of one of 1029 and fifteenth of the reign. GOLD, An. 1032.

DCCCLXIII.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Scorpio.

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Scorpionis. GOLD, An. 1030.

II. AREA. As in the preceding. ١٠٣٠ 1030 (1620), regni ١٦ 16. 7 dw. 3 gr. with ring.

The figure of the Scorpion on this coin (which is one of those transmitted from Surat by Mr. Crow) differs in many respects from that found upon other specimens in gold, but bears a resemblance to the silver specimen of the collection, in the peculiarities of the insect having only two legs on each side, and no forcipes to the biting claws. They occupy also a larger space on the area of the coin; and the rays of the nimbus on the gold, are partially disposed, as observed of the Virgo. Indeed it is evident from the style of the engraving, that the dies of these (Virgo and Scorpio) were cut by the same hand, and probably at *Ahmedábád*, although the distich implies them to be from the mint of *Agrah*. On the silver Scorpio the name of the former city is expressed.

In Maj. Moor's engraving the date is 1028; in M. Bonneville's 1032 and 17; and on a cast in my possession, 1031 and 16 of the reign.

DCCCLXIV.—DCCCLXV.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Sagittarius.

GOLD, An. 1031.

I. AREA. Sol in constellatione Sagittarii.

II. AREA. As in the preceding. ١٠٣١ 1031 (1621).
Regni ١٦ 16. 7 dw. 6 dw. 23½ gr.

The figure of Sagittarius, or the Grecian centaur, appears to be the same in the specimens of every cabinet, or to differ only in the size of the circle within which it is circumscribed. Besides this of the year 1031 and 15th of the reign, there is another in the collection of 1032 and 17th; which latter corresponds with no. 10 of M. Bonneville's Plate. For this I was indebted to the kindness of the late Sir John Anstruther. Maj. Moor's specimen is of 1033, and Mr. Payne Knight's of 1030 and 15th of the reign.

Notice has been already taken of the rare Sagittarius, no. 9 of the Paris cabinet, remarkable for bearing the name of the empress, as well as for being later in date than any other zodiacal coin. The reading is thus given in the Traité des Monnaies &c. (being nearly the words of Anquetil du Perron and of Gladwin, who both extracted from the same original Persian work): "*Behokm schah Djéhanguir iaft sad zevar, benam Nour-Djéhan padeschah beigom zar.* C'est-à-dire, par l'ordre du Roi Djèhanguir, l'or a acquis cent (degrés d') excellence en (recevant) le nom de Nour Djéhan beigom, Roi." "On lit en outre ici, Frappée à Lahor, 1035 (1625), vingtième année du règne." P. 221. The title of *pâdshâh bégum* here given to, or assumed by *Núr Jehán*, may more properly be rendered, Queen or Empress-consort.

DCCCLXVI.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Capricornus.

I. Area. Sol in constellatione Capricorni. Gold, An. 1032.

II. Area. As in the preceding. ١٠٣٢ 1032 (1622).
Regni ١٧ 17. 7 dw. 0½ gr.

Of Capricornus, also, the specimens do not exhibit much variety in the form of the imaginary animal, which, in such as are well preserved, is covered with scales; on some, all over the body and neck; on others, from below the shoulders only. That in the collection suffered partially by rubbing, in its journey from Surat to England. Mr. Payne Knight's specimen bears the same dates. Maj. Moor's engraving has the years 1033 and 18, and M. Bonneville's, 1034 and 29, by an error in the die for 19; being later by one year than any zodiacal coin I have had an opportunity of examining.

DCCCLXVII.—DCCCLXVIII.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Aquarius.

I. Area. Sol in constellatione Aquarii. Gold, An. 1031.

II. Area. As in the preceding. ١٠٣١ 1031 (1621).
Regni ١٦ 16. 6 dw. 23½ gr. 7 dw. 0½ gr.

Aquarius

GOLD, An. 1031.

Aquarius is known to be the rarest of all the zodiacal coins, both in gold and silver; but from what cause has not been ascertained. Of this sign, however, the collection contains two specimens, differing entirely from each other. One of them (received from Mr. Crow of Surat) presents the erect and nearly naked figure of a man, who carries an Indian waterpot on his shoulder, supported by the right hand. It is surrounded by rays, in the usual manner, and in its general appearance has all the character of originality; but no similar figure of Aquarius has been elsewhere depicted or described. A cast, however, corresponding with it in every respect, has long been in my possession.

The other specimen represents the sign of Aquarius by a meagre and decrepid old man, resembling a *yogi* or *fakîr*, sitting on a rock, and pouring water from a vessel held over his shoulder, by his right hand, in a constrained attitude. The figure is not encompassed with rays, but the area is bounded by a dotted marginal circle, and in its style of workmanship the coin has a striking resemblance to the Virgo and Scorpio that have been described. To its genuineness some objections might be suggested, but it is precisely the Aquarius of most other sets; where it has been unquestioned. In Maj. Moor's engraving it expresses the dates of 1028 and 13th of the reign, and in M. Bonneville's (no. 12), those of 1029 and 15th; and a second specimen of Aquarius (no. 13 of the same plate) exhibits a figure quite different from these, being in a costume that strikes the eye as European. Its inscription also, in which it is totally unlike the rest, mentions its being struck at *Ajmîr*, in the year 1032.[1] It is remarkable that the same sign in Bógaert's plate is a figure in a tight European dress; but he has not furnished the legends of his zodiacal impressions.

(1) The words of the legend are جهانگير پادشاه غازي ضرب اجمير ۱۰۳۲ *Jehângîr pâdshâh ghâzi* (imperator victoriosus). Cuditur in *Ajmîr* 1032 (1622).

DCCCLXIX.—DCCCLXX.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

Pisces.

I. Area. Sol in constellatione Piscium. Gold, An. 1028.

II. Area. يافت در اگره روي زر زبور
از جهانگير شاه شاه اكبر ۱۰۲۸ ۱۳

Suscepit in Agrah facies nummi ornamentum a *Jehângîr shâh (ben) Akbar shâh.* (Anno) 1028 (1618), regni 13.
7 dw. 10 gr. with ring. 7 dw.

As remarked of some other zodiacal coins, there seems to be, in the representations of Pisces, a general uniformity of the specimens. Their workmanship also is invariably good. The date of this is the earliest that has occurred in the gold series, and as from its being of the 13th year of the reign, it must have belonged to the former part of the hejrah year 1028, there is a probability of its having been among the first of this kind that were issued; for although the twelfth and last of the signs, it will be recollected that according to the terms of the emperor's edict, the *muhrs* were to be "impressed with the sign of the zodiac in which the sun happened to be when the money was coined;" and the operation of the mint may have begun when the sun was in Pisces.(1) This was later, however, by a few months, than the commencement of the silver coinage at *Ahmedâbâd*, as upon several of the zodiacal rupihs we find the 13th year combined with 1027: a seeming inconsistency that has been explained, from the circumstance of the accession having taken place in the middle of the current year.

A second

(1) From the following passage it appears that the Persian year did, in fact, commence when the sun was in this sign: "Deinde eo (*Yézdegherd*) occiso, post aliquod temporis intervallum, in Persidem introductus est 'Civilis annus solaris fixus,' incipiens a medio Piscium." Hyde, Vet. Persarum &c. Histor. p. 188.

GOLD, An. 1028. A second specimen of this sign, in the collection, has the hejrah date of 1033, and 18th of the reign, being, on the contrary, one of the latest of this peculiar coinage. Maj. Moor's engraving is (as the former) of the years 1028 and 13, and M. Bonneville's, of 1032 and 18th of the reign. The place of coinage of the regular gold series was *Agrah*, the capital of the empire at that period, as expressed in the distich.

DCCCLXXI.

جهانگير *JEHÂNGÎR.*

GOLD, An. 1028.

I. AREA. الهي تا جهان باشد روان باد

II. AREA. بشرق و غرب مهر احمداباد

O Deus! Quamdiu mundus superstet, meabilis (receptus) sit ad orientem et occidentem moneta aurea (civitatis) *Ahmedâbâd.*

I. Middle of Area, enclosed. جهانگير شاه اكبر شاه

Jehângîr shâh (ben) Akbar shâh.

II. Do. سنه جلوس ۱۴ سنه ۱۰۲۸

Anno regni 14. Anno 1028 (1618). 7 dw. 0½ gr.

The date of this handsome gold *muhr* is the same as that of the earliest zodiac of the gold series, with which, however, it is entirely unconnected. Its rythmical inscription is peculiar, and probably expresses by letters of the alphabet, the year of the era; but the verification of a chronogram, where the date is likewise expressed in the simpler form of numeral figures, would be labour ill employed. The manner in which certain words, not constituting a part of the distich, are separated by an inclosing line, on each face of the coin, distinguishes it from all others of this period.

DCCCLXXII.—DCCCLXXIII.

جهانگیر و نور جهان *JEHÂNGÎR* AND *NÛR JEHÂN.*

I. AREA. بحکم جهانگیر شاه یافت صد ریور SILVER, An. 1034.

II. AREA. زنام نور جهان پادشاه بیگم زر

Jubente *Jehângîr Shâh* ornamenta centum accepit nummus ex nomine *Nûr Jehân pâdshâh bêgum* (imperatoris consortis).

I. AREA. Anno regni 20. ۲۰ سنه جلوس

II. AREA. ضرب لاهور سنه ۱۰۳۴

Cuditur in *Lâhawar* (*Lahôr*) anno 1034 (1624). 7 dw. 8 gr.

The legend of this rupih is the same (exclusively of a slight correction of the prepositions, and the advantage of having the place and date expressed) as that quoted by Anquetil and by Gladwin from the Memoirs of *Jehângîr's* reign, and of which mention has been made at p. 630. It furnishes a complete proof of *Núr Jehân's* extraordinary sway, but proves nothing as to her direct concern with the zodiacal coins.(1)

The

(1) In a Persian MS. on the subject of Indian coinage shewn to me by Mr. Wilkins, this legend appears, and which he translates: "In the name of *Núr Jahán* the King's *Begam*, money received an hundred ornaments, by command of king *Jahán-gír*. Struck at the city of Agrah, in the first year of the reign (سنه احد جلوس); of the hejrah (۱۰۲۰) 1020." It would be difficult to reconcile these dates with the historical facts: for the reign of *Jehângîr* commenced in 1014, and 1020 was consequently his sixth year, as we have seen it expressed on his bacchanalian coin, No. DCCCXXXVI. In that year, indeed, his marriage with the person who was named *Núr Mahl* on the occasion, and subsequently *Nûr Jehân*, took place, but although she acquired unbounded influence over the mind of her husband, it would be exaggerating her pretensions to suppose that she caused the year of their nuptials to be styled the first of the imperial reign, and we must rather conclude that the Persian writer, finding the date of his specimen obliterated, supplied the deficiency from his own conjecture.

SILVER, An. 1034. The latest coin of *Jehângîr* in the collection is a rupih of the twenty first year of the reign, answering to 1035 of the hejrah.

Unlike in every respect to the preceding coinage, are some rupihs of this emperor in the cabinet of Mrs. Welland, remarkable chiefly for the place at which they were struck and for the names of the old Persian solar months, in which their respective dates are expressed. Their brief inscriptions are as follow:

An. 1028. I. AREA. نور الدين جهانگير شها اكبر شاه

Nûr ed-dîn Jehângîr Shah (ben) Akbar Shâh.

II. AREA. ضرب پتنه ماه خوردان الهي ۱۰۲۸ ۱۴

Cuditur in *Patnah* mense solari *Khûrdâd* (tertio), 1028 (1619), regni 14. 7 dw. 7½ gr.

I. AREA. As in the preceding.

II. AREA. Cuditur in *Patnah* mense solari مرداد *Murdâd* (quinto). 7 dw. 8 gr.

I. AREA. As in the preceding.

II. AREA. Cuditur in *Patnah* mense solari آبان *Âbân* (octavo). 7 dw. 7½ gr.

An. 1036. I. AREA. As in the preceding.

II. AREA. ضرب پتنه ماه فروردين الهي ۱۰۳۶ ۲۲

Cuditur in *Patnah* mense solari *Ferverdîn* (primo), 1036 (1626-7), regni 22. 7 dw. 8½ gr.

It may be proper to observe, that as the solar months can have no relation whatever to the *hejrah* year, the commencement and termination of which revolve through the seasons, they may here be thought to apply to that of the reign only: but it will be more consistent to infer, that where the term of *Ilahi* is used in the inscriptions, we are to consider the date

date as being, not of the *hejrah*, but of the solar era established by *Akbar*. This, as we have seen (p. 598), dates from his own accession in the year 963, which was reckoned as the year one; but *Jehângîr*, although adhering to the same principle, seems to have adopted a different numeration, and taking 963 as his basis, to have advanced from that period by *ilahi* or solar years, which being eleven days longer than the lunar, would occasion a variation between the two reckonings of one year in thirty three and about two months (independently of intercalations); and at this rate the *ilahi* (which I suspect to be the same as the *fasli* or harvest year of the Bengal era) must retrograde with respect to the other; a difference, however, that for some lapse of time would not be strikingly perceptible on the coinage. SILVER, An. 1036.

A half-rupih (in duplicate) of the year 1037, struck likewise at *Patnah*, and in the twenty second of the reign, contains nearly the same inscription as the rupih of 1034 above described, and consequently the name of the empress. Its date is ten years later than the commencement of the zodiacal silver coinage at *Ahmedâbâd*, and four years after the last of the gold series at *Agrah*. It is further remarkable in being the latest coin on which the name of *Jehângîr* is to be found, as he died in the second month of the hejrah year 1037, in the sixtieth of his age.

DCCCLXIV.—DCCCLXV.

شهاب الدين محمد شاه جهان *SHEHÂB ED-DÎN MUHAMMED SHÂH JEHÂN.*

I. AREA. شهاب الدين محمد شاه جهان پادشاه غازي
صاحب قران ثاني ۱۰۳۹ GOLD, An. 1039.

Shehâb ed-dîn Muhammed (stella lucida Fidei) *Shâh Jehân pâdshâh ghâzi* (imperator victoriosus), dominus alter conjunctionis. (Anno) 1039 (1629-30).

GOLD, An. 1039. II. AREA. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ضرب لاهور
ماه آبان الهي سنه ۲

Non est deus nisi Deus. Muhammed est legatus Dei. Cuditur in *Lâhawar* mense solari *Abân* (octavo), anno (regni) 2.
7 dw. 0½ gr.

The coinage of *Shâh Jehân*, of which this is the earliest perfect specimen, differs in many respects from that of his predecessor, and particularly in the introduction of the Mahometan symbol, which had been for some time disused. The affected attribute of "a second lord of the conjunction or the ascendant," is an imitation of what had been adopted by his great ancestor, *Tímúr*.

His first title, during his minority, was *sultân Khurram* خرم, but in the year 1026 (1617), that of *Shâh Jehân* was bestowed on him by his father, to whose throne he succeeded in 1037. His second year must consequently have embraced a part of the year in which this *muhr* was coined, at *Lâhawar* or *Lahôr*, in the *Penjâb*. There is in the collection a silver rupih in whose legend may be perceived the figure ۱, denoting the first of the reign; but being in other respects imperfect, having no date of the era, nor legible place of coinage, it is not thought deserving of a more particular description. Wt. 7 dw. 3 gr.

DCCCLXVI.

شاه جهان *SHÁH JEHÁN.*

SILVER, An.(1039) I. AREA. شاه جهان پادشاه غازي
.... قران ثاني ۳

Shâh Jehân pâdshâh ghâzí, (dominus) conjunctionis alter.
Anno regni 3.

SIDE. Cuditur in *Súrat.* ضرب سورت

II. AREA.

II. Area. Third symbol, as in the preceding. Silver, An.(1039)

Sides. Names and attributes of the first four khalifs, or successors of the Prophet, imperfect. 7 dw. 8 gr.

This rupih, coined at *Surat*, does not present any thing remarkable. The date of the era is wanting, but the third year of *Shâh Jehân's* reign corresponded with 1039, or beginning of 1040, of the hejrah. The names of the four successors or companions, which on this and on many other coins are rendered imperfect by the deficiency of marginal space, will appear at length in a subsequent description.

Of this year of the reign there is also a small silver coin, weiging 36 grains, which must be considered as a piece of three آنا *anas* or sixteenths of a rupih.

DCCCLXVII.

شاه جهان *SHÂH JEHÂN.*

I. Area. As in the preceding *muhr* ۴ ضرب لاهور Silver, An. 1041.
Cuditur in *Lâhawar* 4.

II. Area. Third symbol.

Margin. Names and attributes of the four successors.
۱۰۴۱ 1041 (1631-2). 7 dw. 8 gr.

This rupih from the mint of *Lahâwar*, is peculiar in having the symbol inscribed within a small circle (instead of a square), leaving a wider space than usual for the marginal legend, which, as well as the other parts, is remarkably perfect.

DCCCLXVIII.

DCCCLXVIII.

شاه جهان *SHÁH JEHÁN.*

SILVER, An. 1041.

I. AREA. As in the preceding gold coin. ۱۰۴۱ 1041 (1631).

II. AREA. Third symbol. ضرب برهانپور) سنه ٥ الهي

Cuditur in *(Barhânpûr)* anno solari regni 5. 7 dw. 4½ gr.

The characters composing the name of the place at which this was struck are imperfect from being near the margin, but are evidently meant for *Barhânpûr*, a city on the river *Tapti*, and capital of the province of *Kandeish*. On a subsequent coin the word will be found distinct. The emperor's titles are here given more at length than in the legends of preceding rupihs. The solar reckoning appears to be confined to the years of his reign, and the date on the opposite side to be that of the *hejrah*.

DCCCLXIX.

شاه جهان *SHÁH JEHÁN.*

GOLD, An. 1043.

I. AREA. شهاب الدين محمد صاحب قران ثاني

شاه جهان پادشاه غازي ضرب اكبر آباد ۱۰۴۳ ٦

Shehâb ed-dîn Muhammed, dominus conjunctionis alter, *Shâh Jehân pâdshâh ghâzi*. Cuditur in *Akbarâbâd*, 1043 (1633), anno regni 6.

II. AREA.

II. AREA, in a lozenge. Third symbol. GOLD, An. 1043.

MARGIN. بصدق ابی بکر و عدل عمر
بازرم عثمان و علم علي

Per veritatem *Abi-bekr* et justitiam *Omar*, per modestiam *Othmân* (Persice, *Osmân*) et scientiam *Ali*. 6 dw. 23 gr.

In the elaborate rather than handsome legend of this *muhr*, the marginal sentence containing the attributes of the four khalifs, the companions and successors of the Prophet, appears as complete as it is found upon any of the current coins; but on a gold medal of extraordinary size and weight, struck by this magnificent emperor, there is a more full expression of the qualities attributed to them respectively, beginning with these words: شد ایمان از صدق ابي‌بکر انور 'Fuit religio per veritatem *Abi-bekr* lucidior,' of which those on the coin are no more than an abstract.(1) It may be observed that in the attribute of *Othmân*, the Persian term for 'modestia' is ازرم on this *muhr*, which on those of *Akbar* was حیاي. On the great medal the terms are شرم و حیاي: all having the same signification.

The display of these names on the currency is to be viewed as much in a political as a religious light, being the characteristic of the orthodox mussulman party, in opposition to those, who, under the khalifat, supported the pretensions of the descendants of *Ali*. *Sháh Jehân* himself was indifferent upon points of faith, and shewed a disposition to tolerate all creeds and opinions; with the exception only of those professed by the *Shiâh* sectaries, which were held by the Persians his political enemies.

The appellation of *Akbarábád* or the 'abode of *Akbar*,' was given to the city of *Agrah*, as was that of *Sháhjehánábád* to the city of *Dehli*.

DCCCLXX.

(1) See Richardson's Pers. and Arab. Dictionary, under the word سکّه *sikkah*, for a detailed account of this numismatic curiosity, which may have since been melted down. Its weight, as expressed in the legend, was that of two hundred *muhrs*, and consequently the intrinsic value, at four pounds sterling the ounce, must have been about £280. The clear diameter of a metal-cast of it in my possession is 5¼ inches.

DCCCLXX.—DCCCLXXI.

شاه جهان *SHAH JEHÂN.*

SILVER, An. 1044.

I. AREA. شاه جهان پادشاه غازي ٨
Shâh Jehân pâdshâh ghâzi 8.

MARGIN. Illegible.

II. AREA. Third symbol. ١٠٤٤ 1044.

MARGIN. Names of the four successors, imperfect.
7 dw. 8½ gr. 7 dw. 8 gr.

The want of space for the impression of the die renders the marginal inscriptions of this rupih imperfect, and of the name of the place where it was struck, only the terminating syllables آباد are legible. The execution is remarkably good, and it seems never to have been in circulation.

Another rupih, with the same legends, and apparently from the same mint, but not in equal preservation, has the date of 1046 and year 9 of the reign.

DCCCLXXII.—DCCCLXXIII.

شاه جهان *SHÂH JEHÂN.*

GOLD, An. 1057

I. AREA. شاه جهان پادشاه غازي ٢١
Shâh Jehân pâdshâh ghâzi 21.

MARGIN.

MARGIN. شهاب الدين محمد صاحب قران ثاني
ضرب اكبرآباد ١٠٥٧. GOLD, An. 1057.

Shehâb ed-dîn Muhammed, dominus conjunctionis alter. Cuditur in *Akbarabâd*, (anno) 1057 (1647).

II. AREA, in a lozenge. Third symbol.

MARGIN. Names of the four successors, rude and imperfect.
6 dw. 23 gr. 6 dw. 23 gr.

The inscriptions of this gold *muhr* are ill executed, both as respects the designing of the characters and the engraving of the dies. It was in the year of its coinage, the twenty first of his reign, that *Shâh Jehân* removed the seat of government from the city of *Agrah* to *Dehli*, which he named, from himself, *Shâhjehânabâd*.

Another *muhr*, with precisely the same legends and similar faults in the formation of the characters, differs from this only in the circumstance of the shape of the coin being square instead of round. In weight they are alike. The form of the numeral character expressing 5 is in these peculiar; resembling the combination of ٤١.

DCCCLXXIV.

شاه جهان *SHÂH JEHÂN.*

I. AREA. As in the preceding. GOLD, An. 1060.

MARGIN. Do. ضرب برهانپور ٢٣
Cuditur in *Barhânpûr*, (anno regni) 23.

II. AREA. Third symbol. ١٠٦٠ 1060 (1650).

MARGIN. Names and attributes of the four successors.
7 dw. 1 gr.

GOLD, An. 1060. This fine specimen, on the contrary, is nearly perfect in all its parts, and may be considered as an epitome or miniature of the famous gold medal of seventy ounces that has been noticed in describing the *muhr* of 1043.

DCCCLXXV.—DCCCLXXVI.

شاه جهان *SHÂH JEHÂN.*

SILVER, An.(1062). I. AREA and MARGIN, as in the preceding; place excepted. ٢٥ (anno regni) 25.

II. AREA and MARGIN, as in the preceding. ع 7 dw. 9 gr. 7 dw. 10 gr.

The marginal inscriptions of this rupih being imperfect, from want of space, we find neither the place of coinage nor date of the era; but the latter may be inferred from the year of the reign. On II. may be observed the character ع, which may be supposed a mint-mark, although such have not been noticed on the preceding coinage of this dynasty.

On another rupih, having entirely the same appearance, the date is ١٠٦٤ 1064 (1653-4), with the year of the reign ٢٨ 28, and سورت *Surat* as the place where it was coined.

DCCCLXXVII.

شاه جهان *SHÂH JEHÂN.*

GOLD, An. 1066. I. AREA. ٣٠ شاه جهان پادشاه غازي

Shâh Jehân pâdshâh ghâzi. (a. r.) 30.

MARGIN

MARGIN (wide) سکه شاه جهان آباد رایج درجهان
جاودان باد اسام ثاني صاحب قران

GOLD, An. 1066.

(Super) monetam (urbis) *Shâhjehânâbâd* per mundum diffusam, æterni sint nomina secundi domini conjunctionis.

II. AREA. Third symbol.

MARGIN (wide). Names and attributes of the four successors.
١٠٦٦ (an.) 1066 (1655-6). 7 dw.

In this gold piece, of more than usual breadth, although of the same weight as the ordinary *muhrs*, the style of the characters (being decidedly *tâlîk*) varies much from that of the preceding coinage, and a new rythmical sentence is introduced. For the possession of it, as well as of two of the rupihs of this reign, I am indebted to the kindness of Doctor Buchanan Hamilton.

DCCCLXXVIII.—DCCCLXXX.

شاه جهان *SHÂH JEHÂN.*

I. AREA, in a lozenge. پادشاه غازي .....
(Shâh Jehân) pâdshâh ghâzi.

GOLD, An. 1067.

MARGIN. Illegible.

II. AREA. Third symbol. ١٠٦٧ 1067 (1656-7) a. r. 30.

MARGIN. Names and attributes of the four successors.
6 dw. 22 gr. 7 dw. 7 dw. 0½ gr.

The characters on this *muhr*, with the exception only of the *kalimat* or Mahometan symbol and some other common words, are so affectedly

GOLD, An. 1067. obscure, without any obliteration, as to be almost illegible; and even those which should express the emperor's name (as well as his titles in the Margin), form combinations so little resembling them, that were it not for the dates, which are distinct, there would not be grounds for assigning the coin to him or any other monarch, To account for this, it may be conjectured that it was struck in some disaffected province of the empire, where, from political motives, the name of the sovereign was intentionally rendered obscure; the imperfections not being such as arise from want of skill in the artist.

On another specimen, less perfect in its state of preservation, of the twenty seventh year of the reign, the words *Shâh Jehân* are distinguishable, but the figures of the date of the era, which should be 1064, are entirely perverted.

A third specimen of nearly the same stamp, but with the dates of 1068 of the era and thirty first of the reign, has the name and titles perfect, in the Area and the Margin, together with those of the four khalifs; although in point of workmanship it is more rude than the others. On none of them does the place of coinage appear.

DCCCLXXXI.

شاه جهان *SHÂH JEHÂN.*

SILVER, An. 1068.

I. AREA. شاه جهان پادشاه غازي

Shâh Jehân pâdshâh ghâzi.

MARGIN (wide) شهاب الدين محمد صاحب قران ثاني

ضرب دار الخلافة شاهجهان آباد ۳۲

Shehâb ed-dîn Muhammed, dominus conjunctionis alter. Cuditur in sede vicariatûs, *Shâhjehânâbâd*, a. r. 32.

II. AREA.

II. Area. Third symbol. Silver, An. 1068.

Margin (wide). Names and attributes of the four successors.
١٠٦٨ 1068. (1657-8). 7 dw. 7½ gr.

This handsome rupih, coined in the last year of *Shâh Jehân's* long reign, bears a strong resemblance to the *muhr* of 1066, both in the form of the characters and arrangement of the words. In the marginal sentence of I., however, there is a difference; this being the more simple. It is from the mint of the capital, and must have been struck but a short time before his arrest and confinement by his rebellious sons. The epithet of دار الخلافة or 'seat of the *khalâfat*,' had at an earlier period (as appears from a coin of 982) been applied to *Agrah*, at that time the imperial residence of *Akbar*.

DCCCLXXXII.

مراد بخش *MURÂD BAKSH*, fourth son of *SHÂH JEHÂN*.

I. Area. فرح الدين محمد مراد بخش پادشاه غازي Silver, An. 1068.
Farha ed-din Muhammed Murâd Baksh pâdshâh ghâzi.

Margin. ضرب سورت . . . .
Cuditur in *Sûrat* . . . .

II. Area. Third symbol.

Margin. Names &c. of the four khalifs. ١٠٦٨ (anno) 1068.
7 dw. 2 gr.

In the course of this, the last eventful year of *Shâh Jehân's* reign, at a time when he was seized with what was supposed to be a mortal disease, *Murâd*, the youngest of his four sons, being then governor of the province

SILVER, An. 1068. vince of Guzerat, and having a considerable force under his orders, set up the standard of rebellion against his father and rights of his elder brothers, and was proclaimed emperor by the army. It is further mentioned by the historians, that "having negociated a considerable loan with the bankers of *Ahmedábád*, he coined money in his own name"; of which this rudely-executed rupih is a specimen; and as his usurpation was of short continuance, it is probably rare. Having proposed an union of interests and formed a junction with *Aurungzéb*, against *Dara*, their eldest brother, he was betrayed and imprisoned, in the same year, by that crafty prince, who then proceeded to dethrone their father.

Ahmedábád, as the capital of the province, had been the usual place of coinage until the reign of *Shâh Jehân*, by whom the mint appears to have been transferred to *Súrat*.

DCCCLXXXIII.

اورنک زیب عالم گیر *AURENG-ZÉB ALUM-GÍR.*

SILVER, An. 1076.

I. AREA. سکه در جهان زد چو بدر منیر
شاه (اورنک زیب عالم گیر) ۱۰۷۶

Nummum in mundo (i. e. universalem) cudit instar lunæ, fulgentem, *Shâh Aureng-zéb Alum-gír*, (anno) 1076 (1665-6).

II. AREA. ضرب گلکنده سنه جلوس بیمنت مانوس ۱۴

Cuditur in *Galkandah* anno regni imperialis felicis 14.
7 dw. 7 gr.

As it was in the latter part of the year 1068 that *Aureng-zéb*, having caused his father to be imprisoned in *Agrah*, ascended the throne, (1) it follows

(1) A chronological table in the Asiat. Researches (vol. VII. p. 447) states his accession to have taken place in the *sixth* month of 1068, but the course of events in that year renders probable its

follows that 1076, in which this rupih was coined, should be the eighth of his reign. But it is distinctly marked as being the fourteenth: an incongruity that I am unable to explain. Of the negligent continuation, through successive years, of an early date, we shall hereafter find an instance in the reign of *Shah Alum*, but the anticipation of a later is without example. The year 1076 is that in which *Shâh Jehân* ended his days in confinement. SILVER, An. 1076.

It is to be regretted that no earlier coin of this monarch has occurred in the collection. One of the year 1069 and first of the reign (expressed by the word احد 'unus' instead of the numeral figure) has been described by the learned Hyde, in the Preface, p. 8. to his 'Tabulæ Stellarum ex observ. Ulugh Beighi,' Like this it is from the mint of *Galkandah* or Golconda, the modern *Hydrabad*, or capital of the Nizam's territory.

His assumption of the pompous title of *Alum-gîr* 'mundi expugnator,' is said to have occasioned great offence to *Shâh Abbâs* II., the powerful king of Persia, who obliged him to explain that it was only designed to impress his own subjects with awe, and by no means to insult independent princes.

DCCCLXXXIV.

اورنگ زیب عالمگیر *AURENG-ZÉB ALUM-GÎR.*

I. AREA. As in the preceding. ١٠٧٧ 1077 (1666-7). SILVER, An. 1077.

II. AREA. ٩ ضرب سورت سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس

Cuditur in *Sûrat* anno regni imp. felicis 9. 7 dw. 9½ gr.

On

its being later. Dow says it was on the second of August, and as the hejrah year began in September, this would answer to the *eleventh* month. But Fraser, in his 'Short History of the Moghol Emperors,' p. 31, mentions that *Aureng-zéb* thought proper to be proclaimed a second time, "and ordered that for the future, the beginning of his reign should be dated from the first *Ramazan*, in the year 1069 of the Hegira, or the 12th of May 1659."

SILVER, An. 1077. On this rupih of *Sûrat* the legend is perfect, and in respect to weight, it approaches more nearly than the preceding to the mint-standard, which is stated at 7 dw. 11½ gr. or, as expressed by the natives, 10 ماشه *mâshah* weight; the degree of fineness, according to the regulations, being 98 parts of fine silver and 2 of alloy.

There are also, of the same year 1077, a piece weighing 41 grains, which may be supposed a quarter rupih, and one of 22 gr. which must be intended for an eighth, or piece of two *anas*. Both are from the mint of *Akbar-ábád* or *Agrah*.

DCCCLXXXV.

اورنگ زیب عالمگیر *AURENG-ZÉB ALUM-GÍR.*

GOLD, An.(1080)

I. AREA. عالمگیر پادشاه غازي
Alum-gîr pâdshâh ghâzi.

MARGIN. Illegible.

II. AREA. ضرب اکبر نگر ؟ ۱۲
Cuditur in *Akbar nagar?* 12.

MARGIN. جلوس میمنت مانوس .....
(..... anno regni imper. fel.) 7 dw.

The workmanship of this *muhr* is rude, and it wears the appearance of having been struck in a provincial mint. The reading of *Akbar-nagar* is only conjectural, nor am I aware of any city being so named. The date of the era is wanting, but is inferred from that of the reign. Some words of the marginal inscriptions may be discovered, although the small surface of the coin has left little more than the tops of the characters.

DCCCLXXXVI.

DCCCLXXXVI.—DCCCLXXXVII.

اورنگ زیب عالمگیر *AURENG-ZEB ALUMGÎR.*

I. Area. سکه اورنگ زیب عالمگیر چو بدر منیر — Silver, An.(1083)

Moneta *Aureng-zêb Alum-gîr* instar lunæ resplendens.

II. Area. ضرب گلکندہ سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس ۱۵

Cuditur in *Golkandah* anno regni imper. felicis, 15. 1 dw. 20 gr.

The imperfect legend of this quarter rupih is more properly a portion than an abbreviation of those which have appeared on the larger coins, as is shewn by an equally defective legend of a smaller piece, which, notwithstanding, contains the words درجهان 'in mundo,' that are wanting in the other. This latter, a two *ana* piece, from the same mint, weighs 22 grains. In its double date there is an inconsistency; that of the reign being distinctly ۲۱ 21, whilst in the years of the era, the figures in the places of decimals and units (the thousands being cut off) are ۷۶ 76, instead of (10)89.

In the same year (fifteenth) of this emperor's reign was struck the massive silver coin described by Kehr, from the original, preserved in the cabinet of the Dukes of Saxe-Gotha, in his peculiar work intitled 'Monarchæ Mogolo-Indici vel Mogolis magni Aurenk Szeb, numisma Indo-Persicum,' Lipsiæ 1725, and also by O. G. Tychsen, in his 'Introductio in rem numar. Muhamm.' p. 212. Its diameter is 4.4 inches, and its weight (still more extraordinary) five German pounds. In the general style of engraving it resembles the magnificent gold coin of *Sháh Jehán*, but the legends differ considerably.

DCCCLXXXVIII.—DCCCLXXXIX.

اورنک زیب عالم‌گیر *AURENG-ZÊB ALUM-GÍR.*

SILVER, An. 1094.

I. AREA. As in the preceding rupihs. ۱۰۹۴ (anno) 1094 (1683).

II. AREA. ۲۷ ضرب سورت سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس

Cuditur in *Sûrat* an. regni imper. felicis 27. 7 dw. 9 gr. 7 dw. 8 gr.

This perfect rupih does not require any particular remark, but it may be observed how large a proportion of *Aureng-zêb's* silver money was coined at Surat. He was the first emperor of Hindustan who felt the importance of a sea-port in his dominions, and of foreign commerce to his revenue.

A similar rupih, from the same mint, has the date of 1098 (1686-7) and thirtieth of the reign.

DCCCXC.—DCCCXCI.

اورنک زیب عالم‌گیر *AURENG-ZÊB ALUM-GÍR.*

GOLD, An. 1099.

I. AREA. سکه در جهان زد چو مهر منیر
شاه اورنک‌زیت عالم‌گیر ۹۹(۱۰)

Nummum universalem instar solis fulgentem cudit *Aureng-zêb Alum-gír*, (anno) 1099 (1687-8)

II. AREA. ۳۱ ضرب بیجاپور الظفر سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس

Cuditur in *Bîjâpûr* victrice anno regni imperialis felicis 31.
7 dw. 2½ gr. 7 dw. 1 gr.

We

We here find the same brief distich that has appeared on the silver coinage, with the difference of the word مهر 'sol' being substituted for بدر 'luna,' and as the same letters (though varying in their supplementary vowels) express the denomination of the gold coin, it is evident that a play upon the words is intended. The workmanship does little credit to the graphic art under this monarch, but it must have been executed in the field, during the operations of a siege; for although it expresses the name of *Bîjâpûr*, against which celebrated city an army proceeded (under the command of Prince *Azim Shâh*) in 1099, yet its surrender did not take place until the beginning of 1101, nor did the emperor join the besieging army before 1100;(1) but as it is well known that he had the conquest much at heart, the event may have been sanguinely anticipated, and the dies prepared as soon as the trenches were opened. Under these circumstances it is not impossible that the epithet which has been rendered 'victrix' should be understood in the sense of 'victa,' as signalizing the triumph; unless it should be found that the city was so designated during the government of the *Adil Shâhi* dynasty. GOLD, An. 1099.

Another *muhr*, struck in the same year of the reign, is from the mint of *Galkandah*.

DCCCXCII.

اورنگ زیب عالمگیر *AURENG-ZÊB ALUM-GÎR.*

I. AREA. As in the preceding *muhr*. ۱۱۰۰ (an.) 1100 (1688-9). SILVER, An. 1100.

II. AREA. ۳۲ ضرب سورت سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس

Cuditur in *Sûrat* an. reg. imper. felicis 32. 7 dw. 9½ gr.

This rupih, from the mint of *Sûrat*, does not require any specific remark. The intrinsic value, at five shillings per oz. (supposing its degree of fineness to be equal to English standard) is one shilling and ten pence farthing.

(1) See Scott's translation of Ferishta's Hist. of the Dekkah, vol. II. p. 70.

DCCCXCIII.

اورنگ زیب عالمگیر *AURENG-ZÊB ALUM-GIR.*

SILVER, An. 1105.

I. AREA. As in preceding rupihs. ۱۱۰۵ (anno) 1105 (1693-4).

II. AREA. ضرب اتاوه سنه۳۸ جلوس میمنت مانوس

Cuditur in *Etâwah* an. regn. imper. fel. 38. 7 dw. 6 gr.

The chief peculiarity of this rupih is the unusual place of coinage; being *Etâwah*, a fortified town on the left bank of the *Jumna*, below the city of *Agrah*. The surface being broader than that of the *Surat* rupihs, there is space for admitting the whole of the inscription.

DCCCXCIV.—DCCCXCVII.

اورنگ زیب عالمگیر *AURENG-ZÊB ALUM-GÍR.*

GOLD, An. 1106.

I. AREA. As in preceding *muhrs.* ۱۱۰۶ (anno) 1106 (1694-5).

II. AREA. ضرب دارالخلافة شاهجهان‌اباد .... جلوس
میمنت مانوس ۳۸

Cuditur in sede vicariatûs *Shâh-jehânâbâd (Dehli)* an. regn. imper. felicis 38. 7 dw. 0½ gr.

This *muhr*, from the mint of *Dehli*, does not require any particular remark.

Another fair rupih from that of *Etâwah* bears the date of 1107, and thirty ninth of the reign. Its weight is 7 dw. 7 gr.

There

There is also a muhr of *Barhánpúr*, dated 1111 and forty third of the reign, weighing 7 dw. $2\frac{1}{2}$ gr. and GOLD, An. 1106.

A Surat rupih of 7 dw. 6 gr. with the dates of 1116 of the era and forty ninth of the reign, the last of the series in this collection, struck only two years before the death of *Aureng-zéb*, which took place at the close of the eleventh month of 1118, after a reign of upwards of fifty years,(1) the latter of which were unprofitably and ingloriously wasted in the wars of the Dekkan. The letters written on his death-bed to two of his sons (translations of which will be found in Scott's Memoirs of *Eradut Khan*) are deeply impressive.

DCCCXCVIII.—DCCCXCIX.

محمد اعظم شاه *MUHAMMED AZIM SHÁH.*

I. AREA. ۱۱۱۸ سکه دولت وجاه پادشاه ممالک اعظم شاه GOLD, An. 1118.

Nummum felicitatis et dignitatis (cudit) imperator regni *Azim shâh* (an.) 1118 (1707).

II. AREA. .... ضرب خجسته بُنیاد سنه احد جلوس

Cuditur in æde felice (*Aurengabád*) anno primo regni (imper. fel.).

7 dw. $0\frac{1}{2}$ gr. 7 dw. 2 gr.

Upon the death of *Aureng-zéb*, which took place at *Ahmed-nagar*, in the Dekkan, the throne was occupied by his third son, *Azim shâh*, who happened to be, at that time, the nearest to the imperial camp. His reign, however, was of short duration. It commenced in the last month of

(1) The Chronological Table in vol. VII. of the As. Res. states the reign to have been 51 y. 5 m. 7 d. lunar reckoning. In Scott's Hist. of Dekkan from Ferishta, he is said to have died in the fiftieth year and second month, by which the solar reckoning must be understood.

GOLD, An. 1118. of the year 1118, and terminated in the third of 1119, when he was slain in a battle fought with his elder brother, near *Agrah*. This coin, which must have been struck upon his accession, has the Arabic word احد 'one,' instead of the numeral figure, to denote its being of the first year.

The proper name of the city is lost in the inscription, from the want of space, but the words *khujastah buniâd* 'auspicious foundation' are known to have been the epithet or courtly term for *Aurengabâd*.

Another *muhr* of the same rude stamp, also of the first year of the reign, but in 1119 of the hejrah (1707-8), has traces of برهانپور *Barhânpûr* as the place of coinage.

DCCCC.

اعظم شاه *AZIM SHÁH.*

SILVER, An. 1119.

I. AREA. As in the preceding *muhr*. ۱۱۱۹ an. 1119 (1707-8)

II. AREA. .... ضرب برهانپور سنه احد جلوس

Cuditur in *Barhânpûr* an. reg. primo. 7 dw. 9½ gr.

The reign of this prince, who never reached the capital of his dominions, was so short and imperfect, and his money must, consequently, have been so rare in after times, that the circumstance of three specimens of it being found in one cabinet is remarkable. The same dies seem to have been employed for both metals; but the surface of the silver being larger, the inscription is here more complete than on the gold.

DCCCCI.

بهادُر شاه شاه عالم *BAHÂDUR SHÂH SHÂH ALUM.*

I. Area. سکه (مبارک) بهادر شاه شاه عالم
پادشاه غازي (؟)۱۱۱

Gold, An.(1119)

Nummus faustus *Bahâdur Shâh Shâh Alum*, imperatoris victoriosi. (An. 1119) 1707-8.

II. Area. ضرب دار السرور (برهانپور) سنه جلوس
میمنت مانوس ۲

Cuditur in sede Lætitiæ *(Barhânpûr)*, an. reg. imper. felicis 2. 6 dw. 23½ gr.

Upon the defeat of his brother *Azim Shâh*, near *Agrah*, this prince, whose priority of birth gave him stronger claims to the empire, ascended the throne, and on that occasion assumed the titles of قطب الدين بهادر شاه شاه عالم. *Kutb ed-dîn Bahâdur shâh shâh Alum;* his original name having been محمد معظم *Muhammed Maàzm.*

The figure that should express the units of the date on this inelegant gold coin, is wanting, but the remaining strokes, combined with the knowledge of its having been struck in the second year of the reign, prove the date to have been 1119, and that he counted his accession, not from the death of *Azim shâh*, whose right to the sovereign title he could not have acknowledged, but from that of his father, to whom he considered himself the immediate heir.

Of the name of the place where it was struck the characters are defective, but its peculiar epithet of the 'seat of delight,' shews that *Barhânpûr* was intended. A rupih with a similar inscription is described by Anquetil du Perron (Appendix, p. 516). He reads the year of the hejrah 1116, and first of the reign; in which there must be a mistake, as *Aureng-zêb*, the father of these two emperors, reigned till the close of 1118.

DCCCCII.

DCCCCII.—DCCCCIII.

بهادر شاه شاه عالم *BAHÂDUR SHÂH SHÂH ALUM.*

GOLD, An. 1121.

I. AREA. سکه مبارک بهادر شاه &c. ۱۱۲۱

As in the preceding. 1121 (1709).

II. AREA. ضرب خجسته بُنیاد سنه جلوس &c. ۴

Cuditur in æde felice, an. reg. imper. fel. 4. 7 dw.

The year 1121 being here made to coincide with the fourth of the reign, it is evident that *Bahâdur Shâh* must have dated the commencement of it from the death of *Aureng-zêb*, as before observed.

We here again find the terms of *khujastah benîâd*, or the 'auspicious foundation' applied to *Aurengabâd*, the place of coinage.(1)

Another *muhr* of this emperor, from the mint of *Shâh-jehân-abâd* (Dehli) and remarkably fair, contains neither the year of the era, nor that of the reign. He died in the first month of 1124.

DCCCCIV.—DCCCCV.

جهاندار شاه *JEHÂNDÂR SHÂH.*

GOLD, An. 1124.

I. AREA. زد سکه در افاق بر مهر و ماه

ابو الفتح غازي جهاندار شاه ۱۱۲۴

Nummum cudit per regiones terræ in auro et argento (sole et luna) pater victoriæ *Jehândâr shâh ghâzi* 1124 (1712).

II. AREA.

(1) One of his sons was named *Khujastah Akhtâr*, or the 'auspicious star.'

II. Area. ضرب دار الخلافة شاه‌جهان‌آباد — Gold, An. 1124.
سنه احد جلوس ميمنت مانوس

Cuditur in sede vicariatûs *Shâh-jehânâbâd* anno primo regn. imper. felicis. 6 dw. 23½ gr.

Through the powerful aid of the *amîr al-amra*, *Zû'lfakâr khan*, *Jehândâr shâh* triumphed over his three brothers, sons of the late emperor *Bahâdur shâh*. He ascended the throne in the third month of the year 1124, in the twelfth of which he was defeated and put to death by his nephew. These nine months "during which (according to the expression of *Eradut khan*, in his interesting Memoirs) Jehaunder Shaw, like an embryo, lay in the womb of empire," were devoted to the most grovelling debaucheries, and chiefly in the society of a courtesan named *Lâl Kûr*, who has been too often confounded with the high-minded empress *Nûr Jehân*.(1)

DCCCCVI.

جهاندار شاه *JEHÂNDÂR SHÂH.*

I. Area. زد سکه در افاق چون مهر و ماه — Gold, An.(1124).
غازي جهاندار شاه

Nummum cudit per regiones terræ instar solis et lunæ, i. e. auri et argenti, victor *Jehândâr Shâh*.

II. Area. &c. ضرب مستقر الملک سنه احد جلوس

Cuditur in mansione regali . . . . . anno primo reg. imper. fel. 7 dw. 0½ gr.

This

(1) In these Memoirs (p. 79-83 of the translation by J. Scott) the reader will find a curious account of the profligacies of this emperor, and the specious arguments by which the writer justified his loyalty to, whilst he reprobated the vices of his master.

GOLD, An.(1124) This *muhr* also is necessarily of the first year of the reign, and should express 1124 of the era, in which this unworthy emperor ascended and was dragged from the throne; but from defect of space, the numerals do not appear. In the body of the legend of I. may be noticed a peculiar and judicious deviation from the former, as, instead of برمهر و ماه 'in sole et luna' i. e. auro et argento, we here find چون مهر و ماه 'instar solis et lunæ;' for although gold and silver may, by oriental license, be compared to the sun and moon, it is too violent an abuse of metaphor, to speak of stamping the latter into money.

The description of the place of coinage is obscure, and the name itself illegible. On a rupih of 1129, in a subsequent reign, we shall see distinctly the words مستقر الخلافة 'mansio vicariatûs,' and here they seem to be مستقر الملك 'mansio regalis.' The latter term, it is true, is of rare occurrence on the money of this dynasty, but the reading cannot here be doubted.

DCCCCVII.

محمد فرّخ سير *MUHAMMED FURRUKH-SÍR.*

SILVER, An. 1124.

I. AREA. سکه زد (فرخ سیر) بن عظیم (الشان)
پادشاه بفتح و ظفر ۱۱۲۴

Nummum cudit *(Furrukh-sîr)* ben *Azîm (Ash-shân)* per victorias imperator. 1124 (1712).

II. AREA. ضرب (کتک) سنه احد جلوس میمنت مانوس

Cuditur in *Katak* anno primo regn. imper. fel. 7 dw. 18 gr.

When *Azîm ash-shân,* the son of *Bahâdur shâh,* lost his life in a battle fought against the combined forces of his three brothers, and the throne was seized by *Jehândâr shâh,* he left a son, who was at that period in the province

province of Bengal. The weakness and dissolute manners of *Jehândâr shâh* having rendered his government despicable, this young prince was encouraged to attempt the revenging his father's wrong and the assertion of his own claims. With these objects in view, and assisted by two powerful chiefs, he marched an army by the way of *Berar*, to the banks of the *Jumna*, where he engaged the superior forces of the emperor, his uncle, under the command of the celebrated *Amîr al-amra*, defeated them, and on the twenty third day of the last month of 1124, was proclaimed emperor, at *Dehli*, by the title of *Muhammed Furrukh-sîr*. SILVER, An. 1124

The year being so nearly expired when these events took place, it may be thought there was not time sufficient to justify the dating in 1124, even his earliest coinage; but he is understood to have estimated the commencement of his reign, *de jure*, from the death of his grandfather, *Bahâdur shâh*, which happened in the first month of that year. The name of the place of coinage is indistinct, and might be mistaken for اتک *Atăk* (Attok), a city on the *Indus*; but we shall find it on subsequent specimens to be کتک *Katak* (Cuttack) a city of *Berar*, from which quarter *Furrukh-sîr* advanced into Hindustan. Many characters are likewise wanting, in other parts, to complete the words. Some expressions in the legend of I. are peculiar, and might be considered as implying a substitution of the right of conquest for his hereditary claim.

DCCCCVIII.—DCCCCXI.

محمد فرخ سیر *MUHAMMED FURRUKH-SÎR.*

I. AREA. از فضل حق سکه زد بر سیم و زر SILVER, An. 1125.
فرخ سیر پادشاه بحر و بر ۱۱۲۵

Per gratiam divinam nummum ex auro et argento cudit *Furrukh-sîr*, imperator mari terrâque, (an.) 1125 (1713).

SILVER, An. 1125.

II. AREA. ضرب کتک سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس ۲

Cuditur in *Katak* an. reg. imper. fel. 2.
7 dw. 18½ gr. 7 dw. 18 gr. 7 dw. 18½ gr. 7 dw. 9 gr.

On this rupih, of the second year, the style of the inscription is changed, and allusion no longer made to the victory which placed the emperor on the throne. The employment of the words بحر و بر 'maris terræque' seems to have been adopted from the coinage of the Ottoman sultans, on which they first appeared about the year 926. A duplicate specimen of the same date, helps, by the inequality of striking, to perfect the reading.

Another rupih from the same mint, has the date of 1126, with the third year of the reign. In weight they all exceed considerably the usual standard.

There is also a specimen with the same legend, but of the fifth year, from the mint of *Súrat*. It is lighter than the preceding by nine grains.

DCCCCXII.—DCCCCXIII.

محمد فرخ سیر *MUHAMMED FURRUKH-SÍR.*

SILVER, An. 1129.

I. AREA. As in the preceding. .. ۲۹ (an.) 1129 (1716-17).

II. AREA. ضرب مستقر الخلافة اکبرآباد سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس ۵

Cuditur in sede firma (residentia) vicariatûs *Akbarábád*, an. reg. imper. fel. 5. 7 dw. 1½ gr. 7 dw. 10 gr.

The only peculiarity in the legend of this handsome and perfect rupih, is the use of the Arabic term مستقر (instead of دار) to express the 'permanent seat' of the khalif-government, as identified with the imperial residence.

residence. Respecting the probable occasion of applying this epithet to the capital of Hindustan by the emperor *Akbar*, some notice will be found in the description of his coin of the year 982. SILVER, An. 1129.

It was in this year of *Furrukh-sîr's* reign that the English East-India Company obtained from him (through the agency of Mr. John Surman, factor, and Mr. Hamilton, surgeon, with *Khojáh Serhad*, an Armenian, as linguist) the memorable *Firmán* or edict, exempting them from the payment of customs, authorising them to coin money of the empire in the island of Bombay, as had been usual at Chinapatan or Madras, and granting them the exercise of many other important privileges.(1)

There is another rupih, not equally well preserved, though much heavier, of the sixth year.

DCCCCXIV.

محمد فرخ سیر *MUHAMMED FURRUKH-SÍR.*

I. AREA. As in the preceding, but less perfect. GOLD, An. 1130.

II. AREA. ٧ ... ب ... سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس

Cuditur in . . . . an. reg. imper. fel. 7. 7 dw. 11 gr.

From the confined surface of this ill-executed, but weighty *muhr*, several characters of the legend are excluded. The name of the emperor is distinct, but that of the place of coinage is illegible; nor do the existing tracès appear to justify the reading of کنبهایت *Kambhâyet* (Cambay), which I find in a paper that accompanied the coin from Surat.

In

(1) It is dated the fourth day of the second month (1129) and in the fifth year of the reign, (6th Jan. 1716-17). A translation of it will be found in Fraser's Hist. of Nadir Shah, p. 45, and the detail of many circumstances respecting it, in Scott's Hist. of Aurungzebe's successors, p. 139.

GOLD, An. 1130. In the early part of the following year, 1131 (Feb. 1719), this weak prince was imprisoned and ignominiously put to death, by his ministers, whose overweening influence he had vainly attempted to struggle against. They placed on the throne another grandson of *Bahâdur Shâh*, named *Rafîè ed-derjat*, whom they suffered to reign only a few months, when they substituted his younger brother, *Rafîè ed-daulat*, who also lived but a short time, though his death is supposed to have been natural.(1) Of the coinage of these two ephemeral emperors there are not any specimens in the collection.

DCCCCXV.—DCCCCXVI.

ناصر الدين محمد شاه *NÂSER ED-DÍN MUHAMMED SHÂH.*

SILVER, An. 1135.

I. AREA. سكه مبارك صاحب قران ثاني
محمد شاه پادشاه غازي ١١٣٥

Nummus faustus domini conjunctionis secundi, *Muhammed Shâh.* 1135 (1722-3).

II. AREA. ضرب دار الخلافة شاه‌جهان‌آباد
سنه جلوس ميمنت مانوس ٥

Cuditur in sede vicariatûs *Shâh Jehânâbâd* an. reg. imper. fel. 5.
7 dw. 6½ gr. 7 dw. 8½ gr.

Muhammed shâh, whose original name was *Rôshan Akhtar*, the son of *Jehân shâh*, and likewise a grandson of *Bahâdur shâh*, was the next pageant

(1) Historians are not agreed respecting the precise duration of their reigns or circumstances of their deaths. The authority followed by Fraser (who resided in Hindustan not many years after the period of these transactions) states that the first was murdered by the Seyds (as the two great ministers, brothers, were denominated), whilst the compiler of the chronological table (probably from Ferishtah) asserts that the elder prince died of a consumption, and the younger of intoxication from opium (poppy) seeds; the one having reigned 3 ms. and 10 ds., and the other, 3 ms. and 28 ds.

pageant whom the vizir and *amîr al-amra* seated on the imperial throne. He was proclaimed in the eleventh month of the year 1131, but may be supposed to have dated his reign from the death of *Furrukh-sîr*, in the earlier part of that year. His fifth year would therefore commence about the middle of 1135. SILVER, An. 1135.

In the legend of a rupih of 1137 little variation is perceptible. The year of the reign is here the sixth, which is perfectly consistent with its commencing in the course of 1131. The name of the place of coinage is not legible.

DCCCCXVII.

محمد شاه MUHAMMED SHÂH.

I. AREA. As in the preceding. ١١٣٨ 1138 (1725-6). GOLD, An. 1138.

II. AREA. As in the preceding. ٧ an. reg. imp. fel. 7. 6 dw. 3½ gr.

In this reign the impression of the gold does not vary from that of the silver coin, and the legends uniformly begin with the words سكه مبارك 'Nummus faustus.' It appears that *Shâh Jehân-âbâd* (Dehli) was from this early part of *Muhammed Shâh's* reign, the imperial capital, as it is known to have been, in the latter, by memorable events.

The numeral figure belonging to the place of units is wanting in the date, but by inference from the year of the reign, it should be the latter part of 1137 or former part of 1138.

DCCCCXVIII.

DCCCCXVIII.

محمد شاه *MUHAMMED SHÁH.*

SILVER, An. 1141.

I. AREA. سکه مبارک محمد شاه پادشاه غازي ۱۱۴۱
Nummus faustus &c. 1141 (1728-9).

II. AREA. ضرب کورا سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس ۱۱
Cuditur in *Kôrâ* an. reg. imper. fel. 11. 7 dw. 5 gr.

The inscription on this very perfect rupih is more brief than that of the preceding coins. The city of *Kôrâ* or Corah, where it was struck, is in the *Duâb*, above the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna rivers. In Rennell's Bengal Atlas it is named *Corah Jehenabad.*

DCCCCXIX.—DCCCCXX.

محمد شاه *MUHAMMED SHÁH.*

GOLD, An.(1142)

I. AREA. As in the coins of 1135 and 1138. ۱۱۴(۲).

II. AREA. ضرب دار الخلافة شاهجهان‌اباد سنه جلوس ۱۲ &c.
Cuditur in sede vicariatûs *Shâh Jehânâbâd* (Dehli) an. regn. imper. fel. 12. 7 dw.

As the figure in the place of units is wanting in this *muhr*, the date of 1142 is inferred from the year of the reign.

In a rupih from the same mint, of the nineteenth year of the reign, the units are likewise deficient in the date of the era, but may, in this instance, be supplied with precision, as they could only lie between 1149 and 1150, and the 4 in the place of decimals determines it to be the former. Its weight is 7 dw. 8 gr.

DCCCCXXI.

DCCCCXXI.

محمد شاه MUHAMMED SHÂH.

I. AREA. As in the preceding *muhr*. ١١٥(٢) 1152 (1739). GOLD, An.115(2).

II. AREA. ٢٢ &c. ضرب دار الخلافة شاهجهان آباد سنة جلوس

Cuditur in sede vicariatûs *Shâh Jehân-âbâd*, an. reg. imp. fel. 22. 6 dw. 23¼ gr.

In the latter part of the year 1151, which began in April 1738, Hindustan was invaded by *Nâdir Shâh;* in February 1739 the army of *Muhammed Shâh* was defeated; in March the conqueror entered the city of Dehli, which, in consequence of some acts of violence committed by the inhabitants, was delivered up to pillage and general massacre; in May the emperor was restored to his throne, and before the middle of that month the place was evacuated by the enemy, and *Nâdir Shâh* began his march towards Persia, laden with the richest spoils that were ever carried off by a triumphant invader.

He is said to have exercised the prerogative of sovereignty in coining money during his occupation of Dehli, but none such has occurred, nor until his return to *Kandahar*.(1) This *muhr* of *Muhammed Shâh* must have been

(1) Fraser, it is true, describes a coin of *Nâdir shâh*, "struck, in India after his victory at *Karnal*, which has on one side, 'Nadir, the master of fortune and king of kings, is the most powerful of the princes of the earth. May God perpetuate his reign.' Struck at *Ahmed-abad* in 1152." If this was intended for a memorial of his Indian conquest, it is extraordinary that the allusions to it should not have been more pointed; the expressions here employed being scarcely more arrogant than those on the money issued at his accession. The peculiarity may also be remarked of its proceeding, not from the mint of *Dehli* or of *Lahôr*, which he reduced on his march, but from the distant capital of *Guzerat*, to which province his arms had not extended. It is probable, at the same time, that if he coined money during his transitory and agitated possession of the capital, pains may have been subsequently taken to destroy such traces of humiliation.

By reference to the preceding description of Persian money (p. 477) it will be seen that *Nâdir* coined silver pieces at *Meshhed*, in *Khorasân*, in the year 1153, with an inscription precisely similar to that of which Fraser has given the reading.

GOLD, An.115(2). been struck immediately upon, or soon after his restoration to independence, which took place in the second month of the year 1152.

DCCCCXXII.

محمد شاه MUHAMMED SHÂH.

SILVER, An. 1152.

I. AREA. As in the preceding. ۱۱۵۲ 1152 (1739).

II. AREA. ۲۲ &c. ضرب عظیم‌آباد سنه جلوس

Cuditur in *Azîm-âbâd*, an. regn. imper. fel. 22. 7 dw. 10¾ gr.

The workmanship of this handsome and perfect rupih, struck in the same year and under the same circumstances as the preceding gold coin, is executed with more graphic skill. The place where it was struck, to which the mussulman appellation of *Azîm-âbâd* or 'magnificent abode' is here given, is the celebrated city of *Patnah*, in Bengal.

DCCCCXXIII.

محمد شاه MUHAMMED SHÂH.

GOLD, An. 1157.

I. AREA. As in the preceding. ۱۱۵۷ 1157 (1744).

II. AREA. ۲۶ &c. ضرب دار الخلافة شاه‌جهان‌اباد سنه جلوس

Cuditur in sede vicariatûs *Shâh Jehân-âbâd*, an. regn. imper. felicis 26. 7 dw. 16 gr. with a ring.

The

The death of *Muhammed shâh* took place in the fourth month of the year 1161, four years previously to which, this *muhr*, the last in the collection of his reign, was coined in the capital. The execution is remarkably good, and the broadness of its surface gives it the appearance of more than ordinary value, which its weight does not justify, the appendage being equal to several grains. GOLD, An. 1157.

DCCCCXXIV.—DCCCCXXV.

احمد شاه *AHMED SHÂH.*

I. AREA. سكه مبارك احمد شاه بهادر پادشاه غازي ..٦٦ GOLD, An. 1166.

Nummus faustus *Ahmed Shâh Behâdur* imperator victoriosus. 1166 (1752-3).

II. AREA. ضرب دار الخلافة شاهجهان‌اباد سنه جلوس &c. ميمنت مانوس ٦

Cuditur in sede vicariatûs *Shâh Jehân-âbâd*, an. regn. imper. fel. 6. 6 dw. 23½ gr.

This emperor, whose titles at length were, *Mojâhid ed-dîn abû'l Nasr Ahmed Shah Bahâdur*, succeeded to the throne of his father, and was crowned in the beginning of the fifth month of the year 1161 (1748). In the eighth month of 1167 (1754) he was dethroned and imprisoned, but survived for several years. His coins resemble the least elaborate specimens of the preceding reign.

Besides the above there is another *muhr*, from the mint of *Sûrat*, weighing 7 dw. 3 gr., but without date.

DCCCCXXVI.

عزيز الدين محمد عالمگير ثاني *AZÎZ ED-DÎN MUHAMMED ALUMGÎR SÂNI.*

GOLD, An.(1167)

I. AREA. سكه مبارك عالمگير(ثاني) پادشاه غازي ..١١

Nummus faustus *Alum-gîr* secundi *pâdshâh ghâzi.* 11(67) 1753-4.

II. AREA. ضرب دار الخلافة شاه(جهان‌اباد) سنه احد جلوس ميمنت مانوس

Cuditur in sede vicariatûs *Shâh Jehân-âbâd* (Dehli), anno primo regn. imper. felicis. 7 dw.

Upon the deposition of *Ahmed Shâh,* his vizir caused a son of *Jehândâr Shâh,* named *Azîz ed-dîn,* to be placed on the imperial throne, and he was accordingly proclaimed, in the eighth month of 1167, by the title of *Alum-gîr sâni* or the second of the name, with reference to *Aureng-zêb,* by whom it had been borne. Being marked as of the first year of the reign, we may presume it to have been struck on the accession. Its inscription contains nothing peculiar.

DCCCCXXVII.—DCCCCXXVIII.

عزيز الدين محمد عالمگير ثاني *AZÎZ ED-DÎN MUHAMMED ALUMGÎR SÂNÎ.*

GOLD, An. 1168.

I. AREA. سكه مبارك ابو العدل عزيز الدين محمد عالمگير پادشاه غازي

Nummus faustus patris justitiæ *Azîz ed-dîn Muhammed Alum-gîr pâdshâh ghâzî.*

MARGIN.

MARGIN. ضرب دار الخلافة شاه‌جهان‌اباد — GOLD, An. 1168.
سنه جلوس ميمنت مانوس ۲

Cuditur in sede vicariatûs *Shâh Jehân-âbâd,* an. regn. imper. fel. 2.

II. AREA. Third symbol. ۱۱۶۸ 1168 (1754-5).

MARGIN. The names and attributes of the four successors.
6 dw. 23½ gr.

The legend of this *muhr* is more circumstantial than that of the preceding year, and is remarkable for the epithet of 'pater justitiæ' or, simply, 'justissimus,' as well as for a new distribution of the sentences and of the words in the *kalimat* or symbol, which begin at the bottom and proceed upwards. As it bears along with the date of 1168, that of the second year of the reign, it must have been struck towards the close of the former.

A rupih, with the same dates (weighing 7 dw. 3 gr.) so much resembles this *muhr* in every part of the inscription, as to render it probable that they were struck from the same dies. In describing a coin of *Shâh Jehân,* an. 1043, it was remarked that the moral attribute applied to the khalif *Othmân* was in some instances حياي and in others, ازرم 'modestia, verecundia;' but on these coins it seems to be the word حلم 'gravitas, clementia.'

DCCCCXXIX.

عالمگير ثاني *ALUMGÍR SANÍ.*

I. AREA. As in the preceding. ..۶۹ (11)69 (1755-6). — GOLD, An. 1169.

II. AREA. ۲ &c. ضرب دار الخلافة شاه‌جهان‌اباد سنه جلوس

Cuditur in sede vicariatûs *Shâh Jehân-âbâd,* an. regni &c. 2.
6 dw. 23½ gr.

Although

GOLD, An. 1169. Although the legends on this and the preceding *muhr* are similar, as to the material part, no two coins from the same mint can be more unlike to each other in their general appearance, and particularly in the style of the characters. This nearly resembles the coinage of the first year of the reign, as well as of those immediately preceding, and omits both the symbol and the names of the four orthodox successors. The units of the date (which alone are perfect) shew it to be one year of the hejrah later than those last described, but equally with them it was struck in the second year of *Alum-gîr's* reign.

In the year following (1170–1756) it was that *Ahmed Shâh Abdali*, who, upon the death of his master, *Nâdir Shâh*, succeeded in establishing for himself an independent government in the country of the *Afghâns*, marched an army to Dehli, in order to revenge an injury his family had sustained from the vizir, *Ghazi ed-dîn*, and laid that unhappy city under a merciless contribution: from which period the existence of an empire in Hindustan was nominal only.

DCCCCXXX.—DCCCCXXXI.

عالمگير ثاني *ALUMGÎR SÂNÎ.*

GOLD, An. (1171-2).

I. AREA. زد برهفت كشور چو مهر و ماه تابان
سكه مبارك عزيز الدين عالمگير ثاني پادشاه غازي

Cudit in septem climatibus, instar solis et lunæ resplendentis, nummum faustum, *Aziz ed-dîn Alum-gîr sânî*, imperator victoriosus.

II. AREA. ضرب دار الخلافة شاهجهان‌اباد
سنه جلوس ميمنت مانوس ٥

Cuditur in sede vicariatûs *Shâh Jehân-âbâd*, an. regn. imper. fel. 5.
6 dw. 23¾ gr. 6 dw. 23½ gr.

This

This *muhr*, although bearing a general resemblance to the preceding, is much ruder in the form of the character, and so defective in surface, that had there not been a duplicate in the collection, the legend could not have been completed. The portions of it on the obverse of the two specimens vary, indeed, from each other, by exactly half the diameter of the coin. GOLD, An. (1171-2).

DCCCCXXXII.

عالمگير ثاني *ALUM-GÎR SÂNÎ.*

I. AREA. سكه مبارك پادشاه غازي
(عزيز الدين) عالمگير ثاني GOLD, An. (1172-3).

Nummus faustus imperatoris bellicosi, *(Azîz ed-dîn) Alum-gîr* secundi.

II. AREA. ٦ &c. ضرب مهر (اندرپور) سنه جلوس

Cuditur moneta aurea in *(Indra-pûra?)* an. regn. imper. fel. 6.
6 dw. 23 gr.

The date of the hejrah year, which is wanting on this *muhr*, may be inferred from that of the reign; the sixth of the latter answering to 1172 and 1173, in the fourth month of which (Decem. 1759) *Alum-gîr* was assassinated by his minister. The name of the place of coinage is obscure. The characters seem to denote *Indra-pûra*, but no town on the continent of India is now so called.

DCCCCXXXIII.

عالمگير ثاني *ALUM-GÍR SÁNÍ.*

GOLD, An. ...

I. AREA. عالمگير ثاني پادشاه (غازي)

Alum-gîr secundus, imperator bellicosus.

II. AREA. ضرب كرّه امتياز

Cuditur in *Karrah* distincta. 2 dw. 4 gr. 2 dw. 3 gr.

These small gold coins not bearing any direct proportion to the *muhr*, being more than a fourth and less than a third of its weight, may perhaps have been intended as substitutes for the هون *hún* or pagoda, current in the Dekkan and Karnatik. *Karrah* (the *Currah* of the maps) where they were struck, is a town on the southern bank of the Ganges, within the *Dúáb*, and much nearer to the confluence of the rivers than كورا *Kôrá* or Corah noticed in the description of a coin of the year 1141, with which it is not to be confounded. To the name of *Karrah* the word امتياز 'distinctio, selectio, separatio' is annexed, in order, as it would seem, to distinguish it from the other, which likewise has its epithet of *Jehán-ábád.*(1)

(1) See Plate XIII. of that excellent work, the Bengal Atlas of Rennell. The reader is also referred to what has been said on this subject in describing the last rupih of *Shír Sháh's* reign, No. DCCXXXVII.

DCCCCXXXIV.

جلال الدين شاه عالم *JELÁL ED-DÍN SHÁH ALUM.*

I. Area. سكه زد برهفت كشور گنايه فضل الله
حامي دين محمد شاه عالم پادشاه ۱۱۷۴

Gold, An. 1174.

Nummum cudit in septem climatibus (per totam orbem), umbra gratiæ divinæ, defensor religionis Muhammedis, *Shâh Alum padshâh*, (an.) 1174 (1760-61).

II. Area. ۲ ضرب عظيم آباد سنه جلوس ميمنت مانوس

Cuditur in *Azîm-âbâd* (Patnah) an. regn. imper. felicis 2.
7 dw. 3 gr.

When the atrocious vizir, whose power in the state was without controul, had disposed of *Alum-gîr sâni*, he set up another weak prince, said to be descended from *Aureng-zéb*, to whom he gave the title of *Shâh Jehân*. It does not appear, however, that he coined money, nor does his name stand in any lists of the emperors of Hindustan. In the same manner, and with as little validity of title or permanence of possession, the Mahrattas, whilst temporary masters of Dehli, placed on the throne, *Jawân-bakht*, grandson of the late *Alum-gîr*, in prejudice of the rights of *Ali Gôhar*, his father; but after the famous battle of Paniput, fought in the fifth month of the year 1174 (Jan. 1761), between *Ahmed Shah Abdali* and the combined forces of the Mahratta states, which latter experienced a signal defeat, the conqueror caused *Ali Gôhar* himself, who was then absent, to be proclaimed,

This prince, who had received from his father *Alum-gîr*, a grant of the provinces of Barar and Bengal, was engaged in the unsuccessful attempt of subduing them when intelligence reached him of the murder of that weak and unfortunate emperor; upon which he assumed the title of *Shâh Alum*, and money is said to have been struck for him by *Shuja ed-daulah*, the nabob of Oude, on whom he conferred the nominal dignity of vizir.

GOLD, An. 1174. This must have taken place about the middle of 1173 (end of 1759), but the earliest specimens of his coinage, in the collection, are of the year 1174 and second of his reign: yet from the circumstance of their being executed with particular care, and evidently preserved as pattern pieces, it is probable that these were amongst the first money distributed after his accession. They are from the mint of Patnah, under the mussulman designation of *Azîm-âbâd*, where, according to Dow, he was proclaimed emperor; and their legend differs from those of any preceding coinage.

The titles of ابو المظفر جلال الدين *Abu'l-mozafar Jelâl ed-dîn*, given to this prince by some historians, do not appear upon his money.

DCCCCXXXV.—DCCCCXXXVI.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

GOLD, An. 1174. I. and II. AREAS.. As in the preceding gold *muhr*, in every circumstance. 7 dw. 11 gr. 7 dw. 8 gr.

This rupih was evidently struck from the same dies that were used for the gold coinage. Near the bottom of II. there is a conspicuous ornamental mark, resembling a fleur-de-lys, a three pointed spear-head, or the Hindu *trisûl*.

Another, with a broader surface, although of less weight, and more highly ornamented, was struck at *Shâh Jehân-âbâd* (Dehli), in the same year. At this period, however, the city was still in the possession of *Ahmed Shâh*, who, being himself obliged to return to the *Panjâb*, invited the new emperor to repair to his capital; but the latter, doubting of the security of his person in the *Abdali's* hands, declined it, and the administration of the imperial functions was again committed to his son, *Jawân-bakht*.

DCCCCXXXVII.

شاه عالم *SHÁH ALUM.*

I. Area. As in the preceding. ۱۱۷۶ 1176 (1762-3). Silver, An. 1176.

II. Area. ۳ &c. ضرب کلکته سنه جلوس

Cuditur in *Kalkatah* (Calcutta) an. reg. imper. fel. 4.
7 dw. 11½ gr.

This rupih was evidently struck at the period when *Shâh Alum*, after the defeat of his army, consented to place himself under the protection of the English government, and to receive an assignment of certain revenues for his support.(1) It is perhaps the earliest that expresses the name of Calcutta, and its weight accords with the regulated standard. The execution is creditable to the new mint.

(1) " Major Carnac, who commanded the English forces, marched against the prince on the 15th Jan. (1763), and attacked and beat him, taking M. Law and the French party prisoners. He pursued the prince very closely for some days, till the latter found himself so streightened, that he offered to throw himself upon the protection of the English, which was accepted; and on the 8th of (February) he joined the English camp, and proceeded with them to Patna. The province of Allahabad, including the district of Corah, estimated at the yearly revenue of twenty two lacks of rupees, was assigned him in guarantee by the Company; and in addition, to render his estabishment splendid, the British Governor, in behalf of the Company, agreed to pay into his majesty's treasury the annual sum of twenty six lacks of rupees from the revenues of Bengal. In return for these concessions, *Shah Aulum* directed a firmaun to be made out, constituting the English East-India Company perpetual Dewaun of the rich and fertile provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, affording a revenue of three millions sterling. The city of Allahabad was selected for his majesty's residence, where he kept his court in great splendour." Francklin's History of the Reign of *Shah Aulum*, p. 25.

DCCCCXXXVIII.—DCCCCXXXIX.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

SILVER, An. 1179.

I. AREA. As in the preceding. 1179 (1765-6).

II. AREA. ٦ &c. ضرب احمدنگر فرخ‌اباد سنه جلوس

Cuditur in *Ahmed-nagar Furrukh-abâd* an. regn. imper. fel. 6.
7 dw. 6 gr. 7 dw. 8½ gr.

At this period *Shah Alum*, whom it would be mockery to style an emperor, was still residing under British protection, at *Alah-ábád*, but the place of coinage is a town on the Ganges, within the province of Oude, and the money must consequently have been struck by the direction or under the influence of *Shuja ed-daulah*, the nabob of that country, and nominal vizir. It is remarkable that in the legend of all the rupihs of this mint, the initial letter of the word سایه 'umbra' is omitted, and it stands ایه, which has no appropriate meaning.

Of the same year of the reign we find also a coin of that sort which is denominated an *Arkat* (Arcot) rupih and was probably struck, under French influence, by the person styled the Nabob of the *Karnatik*; but the name of the place does not appear on its confined surface. In thickness it proportionably exceeds the others, being fully equal to them in weight. An ornament appears upon this and other mussulman coins of the peninsula, that may be thought to resemble the flower of the lotos.

DCCCCXL.—DCCCCXLII.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

I. Area. سكه مبارك شاه عالم بادشاه غازي ١١٨١ Gold, An. 1181.

Nummus faustus *Shâh Alum* imperatoris victoriosi. 1181 (1767-8).

II. Area. ضرب مسـ . . . . سنه جلوس ٩ &c.

Cuditur in . . . . . an. regn. imper. fel. 9. 7 dw. 10 gr. 6 dw. 22½ gr.

The brief inscription on this *muhr* (being similar to what we have seen on the coinage of *Muhammed Shâh*) has been read, although imperfectly, from the comparison of duplicates. The name of the place of coinage is illegible, but in the rudeness of the style it resembles the workmanship of the *Arkat* rupihs. Being of the ninth year of the reign, it must have been struck in the latter part of 1181, answering to 1768; *Shâh Alum* being still resident at *Alah-âbâd.*

An *Arkat* rupih of the same year of the reign, wants the units in the date of the era, which probably were 2. Its weight is 7 dw. 2½ gr.

DCCCCXLIII.—DCCCCXLIV.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

I. Area. سكه شاه عالم پادشاه ١١٨٣ Gold, An. 1183.

Nummus *Shâh Alum* imperatoris. 1183 (1769).

II. Area. ضرب عظيم‌ابان سنه ١٠

Cuditur in *Azîm-âbâd* (Patnah) anno (regni) 10. 12 gr.

I. Area.

GOLD, An. 1183. I. AREA. *Shâh Alum.* شاه عالم
Anno 1183. ۱۱۸۳ سنه $2\frac{3}{4}$ gr.

The first of these two small gold coins is presumed, from its weight, to be intended for the sixteenth part of a *muhr*. The latter, the most minute of mussulman coins, and of extreme rarity in European collections, is, with more precision, the sixty fourth part.

DCCCCXLV.—DCCCCXLVI.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

SILVER, An. 1183. I. AREA. سکه زد برهنت کشور &c. ۱۱۸۳
Nummum cudit in septem climatibus &c. 1183 (1769).

II. AREA. ضرب مرشداباد سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس ۱۱
Cuditur in *Murshid-âbâd* an. regn. imper. fel. 11. 7 dw. $10\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

The place of coinage, which was the modern capital of Bengal, and consequently within the immediate jurisdiction of the English East-India Company,(1) shews that this rupih was issued under their authority, and it may be observed that the type is precisely the same as that of 1176, from the mint of Calcutta.

A rupih, without the name of the place, but which, from the type, may be judged to have proceeded from a native mint, (perhaps that of *Furrukh-âbâd*) has distinctly 12 as the year of the reign, and 4 as the units of the era;

(1) "Moorshedabad, says Major Rennell, situated on the western arm of the Ganges, which is there very low in the dry season, is about one hundred and twenty miles above Calcutta. It was the capital of the Bengal provinces, until the establishment of the British power: and even long after it was the seat of the collector general of the revenues; being a more centrical situation than Calcutta." Mem. of a Map of Hindoostan, p. 60.

era ; which should fix the coinage in the latter part of 1184, or beginning of A.D. 1771 ; in the spring of which year, or about the first month of A.H. 1185, a considerable change took place in the fortunes of *Shâh Alum.* SILVER, An. 1183.

DCCCCXLVII.—DCCCCXLVIII.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

I. AREA. ۱۱۸۸ &c. سكه زد برهنت كشور ساي فضل الله SILVER, An. 1188.

As in the coin of 1174, but very imperfect. 1188 (1774).

II. AREA. ۱۳ &c. ضرب كلكته سنه جلوس

Cuditur in *Kalkatah* (Calcutta), an. regn. imper. fel. 13.
7 dw. 5½ gr. 1 dw. 10 gr.

Some years before the date of this rupih, coined in the mint of Calcutta, the immediate sanction of the emperor's name, however unimportant, had been withdrawn from the English government. "It was the misfortune of this prince (says Francklin) to be swayed by the counsels of designing persons, who, in the king's return to his capital, foresaw a renewal of their own consequence, and an opportunity afforded for the gratification of their ambitious views. Buoyed up by the flattering prospect of ascending the throne of *Timour* and enjoying the luxury and splendour of the capital, *Shah Aulum* was persuaded to listen to the overtures which, about this time, were made him by the *Marhatta* nation." Hist. of S. A. p. 28.

Against these ill-advised schemes of ambition, destructive of the comforts he actually enjoyed, the government of Calcutta remonstrated, but it was not judged proper to adopt any measures for preventing his departure from *Alah-âbâd,* which took place in 1771, and about the end of that

SILVER, An. 1188. that year he reached *Dehli*, ascending a precarious throne, under circumstances of extreme humiliation, from the rapacious and overbearing conduct of his new protectors.

It is remarkable that along with the hejrah date of 1188, we find 13 as the year of the reign, which ought, consistently, to be 16.

A small silver coin, probably intended for the fourth part of a rupih, although short of the proper weight, bears also the date of 1188, but with the year 9 as that of the reign. These irregularities can scarcely be attributed to mere inattention. Of the name of the place some characters are discernible, although they do not enable me to ascertain the word, which may be منير *Menîr* or Moneer of the maps.

DCCCCXLIX.—DCCCCL.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

SILVER, An. 1189.

I. AREA. As in the rupih of 1179. ۱۱۸۹ (1775).

II. AREA. ۱۷ &c. ضرب احمدنگر فرخ‌اباد سنه جلوس

Cuditur in *Ahmed-nagar Furrukh-âbâd*, an. regn. imper. fel. 17.
7 dw. 7 gr. 1 dw. 19½ gr.

This precisely resembles the rupihs from the same mint already described. The place being within the province of Oude, the coinage, though bearing the emperor's name, may be considered as that of *Shuja ed-daulah*, who, upon the former's setting out for Dehli, 'presented him with four lacks of rupees in specie.'

Of the same year of the reign, without other date, there is a quarter rupih, struck at محمداباد بنارس *Muhammed-âbâd Benâres.* It is marked with the figure of a fish, said to be the device of that city.

DCCCCLI.

DCCCCLI.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

I. Area. As in coin of 1174. ۱۱۹(۰) 1776. Gold, An. 1190.

II. Area. ۱۴ &c. ضرب (بهادر پتن) سنه جلوس

Cuditur in (urbe bellicosa), an. regn. imper. fel. 14. 7 dw. 2 gr.

There is here also an irreconcileable difference between the date of the era and that of the reign; for if, as we have just seen, the seventeenth year correspond with 1189, the fourteenth can have no relation to 1190; and although the unit is lost in the margin, the decimal 9 is distinct. Several of the characters in the name of the place remain, yet the reading is doubtful. They seem, however, to express the words بهادر پتن; but it is not known to what city this epithet has been applied.

Near the centre of II. is the letter ح, which, having no connexion with the sentence, must be a mint or other private mark.

DCCCCLII.—DCCCCLIII.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

I. Area. As in the coin of 1181. Silver, An. (1191-2).

II. Area. ۱۸ &c. ضرب اتاوا سنه‌جلوس

Cuditur in *Itâwâ* an. regn. imper. fel. 18.

7 dw. 5 gr. 3 dw. 17¼ gr.

SILVER, An. (1191-2). *Itâwâ* or *Etava*, where this was coined, is a town on the *Jumna*, below *Agrah*. Its type resembles those of *Furrukh-âbâd;* but the imperial insignia (a flag and umbrella) are remarkable. The year of the era, which does not appear, is inferred from that of the reign to be 1191 or 1192 (1777-8).

Of the same year of the reign there is a half rupih, of rude workmanship and imperfect in its legend, which does not express the place of coinage.

DCCCCLIV.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

SILVER, An. 1192.

I. AREA. As in coins of 1174 and 1179. ۱۱۹۲ (1778).

II. AREA. ۱۹ &c. ضرب احمدنگر فرخ‌اباد سنه جلوس

Cuditur in *Ahmed-nagar Furrukh-âbâd*, an. regn. imper. fel. 19.
7 dw. 6½ gr.

As in the former rupihs from this mint, the word ایه is substituted for سایه 'umbra', without any apparent meaning.

DCCCCLV.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

SILVER, An. 1194.

I. AREA. ۱۱۹۴ سکه مبارک عالمگیر پادشاه غازي

Nummus faustus imperatoris victoriosi *Alum-gîr* (sic). 1194 (1780).

II. AREA.

II. Area. ضرب مچهلي پتن سنه جلوس ٢١ Silver, An. 1194.

Cuditur in *Mechhli-pattân* (Masulipatam), an. regn. imper. fel. 21. 14 dw. 11½ gr.

This extraordinary coin presents a still more unaccountable anomaly than any that has yet been noticed in the produce of the Anglo-Indian mint. The numeral characters for the year 1194 are distinct, and, with due regard to consistency, it is of the 21st year of the reign; which can be no other than that of *Shâh Alum.* But it bears the name (and his only) of *Alum-gîr;* being either that of his father, who reigned not quite six years, and was put to death in 1173, or of the great *Aureng-zêb*, who died in 1118. Whether this discreditable anachronism proceeded from inattention or design, it would now be difficult to ascertain.

The piece is a well executed double rupih, coined at a city, within the English jurisdiction on the coast of Coromandel, usually named Masulipatam.

DCCCCLVI.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

I. Area. As in coin of 1174. ١١٩٥ 1195 (1781). Silver, An. 1195.

II. Area. ضرب..... سنه جلوس &c. ٢٢

Cuditur in ..... anno regni 22. 14 dw. 11½ gr.

The place of coinage of this double rupih has not been ascertained. It resembles the type of *Murshid-âbâd*, but the imperfect characters seem to form the unknown combination of جيرن‌اباد.

DCCCCLVII.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

COPPER, An. 1195.

I. AREA. شاه عالم پادساه ۱۱۹۵

Shâh Alum pâd-shâh 1195 (1781).

II. AREA. سنه جلوس ۲۲

Anno regni 22. 4 dw. 12 gr.

DCCCCLVIII.—DCCCCLIX.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

SILVER, An. 1196.

I. AREA. As in coins of 1174 and 1179. ۱۱۹۶ (1782).

II. AREA. ضرب احمدنگر فرخ‌ابّاد سنه جلوس ۲۳

Cuditur in *Ahmed-nagar Furrukh-âbâd* an. regn. imper. fel. 23. 7 dw. 6½ gr.

This is the latest specimen in the collection, of money coined in *Furrukh-âbâd*, under the authority of the vizirs *Shuja'ed-daulah* (who died in Jan. 1775) and his son and successor, *Asuf ed-daulah*. In the records of the Bengal mint they are termed Viziery rupihs.

Of the same dates, but from the mint of *Muhammed-âbâd Benâres*, and ornamented with the imperial umbrella, there are a half rupih, a quarter, an eighth, and a sixteenth or *ana*, weighing respectively 3 dw. 14 gr., 1 dw. 19 gr., 21½ gr. and 11 grains.

DCCCCLX.

DCCCCLX.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

I. Area. سکه مبارک شاه عالم پادشاه غازي ۱۱۹۷ Silver, An. 1197.

Nummus faustus imperatoris victoriosi *Shâh Alum.* An. 1197 (1782-3).

II. Area. ۲۳ &c. ضرب اتاوا سنه جلوس

Cuditur in *Itâwâ* an. regn. imper. fel. 23. 7 dw. 5¾ gr.

It may be remarked that of the money that has been described as coined in the name of *Shâh Alum,* none has appeared to proceed from the mint of his own capital; although such may be presumed to exist. Even this and a former rupih from that of *Itâwâ* may have belonged to the treasury of his independent vizir, the nabob of Oude. Yet the insignia it displays, and which are not found upon the rupihs of *Furrukh-âbâd,* countenance the supposition of their being actually of imperial coinage. At this period indeed his affairs were at a low ebb, and his person in complete thraldom. "Advancing in years (says Francklin) and destitute of that energy and vigour of mind so necessary to stem the torrent, he was compelled, as occasions demanded, to yield to its force, and the unhappy king, in the evening of life, had the mortification to perceive his authority totally annihilated, and himself become a wretched pageant in the hands of his rebellious subjects." Hist. of Shah-Aulum, p. 101.

DCCCLXI.

DCCCCLXI.—DCCCCLXIV.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

GOLD, An. 1196.

I. AREA. سکه زد برهفت کشور سایه فضل اله
حامي دین محمد شاه عالم پادشاه ۱۱۹۶

Nummum cudit in septem climatibus, &c., as in coin of 1174. (An.) 1196 (1781-2).

II. AREA. ۱۹ &c. ضرب مرشدابادِ سنه جلوس

Cuditur in *Murshid-âbâd* an. regn. imper. fel. 19 (malè, pro 23). 7 dw. 22½ gr. 1197. 7 dw. 22½ gr., 1198. 7 dw. 20 gr., 1201. 7 dw. 21½ gr.

The legend adopted by *Shâh-Alum* at his accession is continued on this *muhr* and the subsequent coinage in gold and silver, professing to be from the mint of *Murshid-âbâd*, the modern capital of the province of Bengal, but which, in fact, were executed at Calcutta, under the immediate authority of the East-India Company's government. So early, indeed, as the year 1757 we find a treaty with the nabob *Serajah ed-daulah*, in which it is stipulated that sikkas (rupihs) may be coined at Allenagore (*Allah-nagar?*) or Calcutta, in the same manner as at *Murshid-âbâd*. A similar article appears in a treaty with *Jâfir Ali Khân* in 1763, and with *Najim ed-daulah* in 1764; but all these were superseded by the treaty of 1765, negociated by Lord Clive, then governor of Bengal, in which a grant is made to the Company, by *Shâh Alum*, of the *Dêwâni* or plenary collection and administration of the revenues of that province.(1)

This

(1) For a minute and able account of the East-India Company's coinage, the reader is referred to Sir James Steuart's work on the 'Principles of Money applied to the present state of the Coin of Bengal;' printed in 1772. It there appears that regulations for the Calcutta mint were established in the years 1766, 1769, and 1771, at each of which periods considerable changes took place, and chiefly as to the respective value, in currency, of the gold and silver money.

This *muhr* of 1196, as well as the nearly similar pieces of 1197, 1198, and 1201, are, in point of workmanship, respectable coins, and exceed in weight, by about 20 gr., the ancient gold of the empire; but present a fresh instance of that disregard of the consistency and fidelity of dates, which has been already noticed as marking the money struck under European controul; for although actually the coinage of the twenty third, twenty fourth, and twenty eighth years of the monarch's reign, as indicated by the corresponding years of the *hejrah*, they all express, uniformly, the *nineteenth* year. This anachronism, repeated through every successive coinage of the same mint, has confounded the investigations of writers on Indian numismatics, and cannot be too strongly reprobated.(2)

GOLD, An. 1196.

DCCCCLXV.—DCCCCLXVII.

شاه عالم *SHÁH ALUM.*

I. AREA. As in the preceding coin. ۱۱۹۹ 1199 (1785). SILVER, An. 1199.

II. AREA. ۲۴ &c. ضرب كلكته سنه جلوس

Cuditur in *Kalkatah* (Calcutta), an. regn. imper. fel. 24.

7 dw. 7 gr. 7 dw. 7¾ gr.

It seems extraordinary that at the period when a handsome, well-executed coinage of gold and silver was issuing from the mint of Calcutta (though

(2) "Mira est (says T. C. Tychsen) in his numis annorum imperii cum annis Hegiræ discordia; etenim cum Schah Alem regnum inierit a. 1175. annus ejus 19 erat Heg. 1193. Contra annus Heg. 1202 esset imperii 28. a. 1203. imp. 29. . . . . Videntur Angli typis veteribus aversæ partis aliquando uti, de annis miseri imperatoris rectè numerandis parùm curiosi." De numis Indicis Comment. p. 192. This conjecture might account for the discordance, were it occasional only; but the year 19 appears to be systematically applied to all denominations of the coin; and it is well known that the same die could not be made to last through successive years.

Silver, An. 1199. (though nominally from that of *Murshid-âbâd*) a rupih so rude as this should make its appearance in the same capital. The years of the reign and of the era, although exempt from the glaring absurdity just noticed, do not exactly correspond; for if the accession be counted from the middle of 1174, the year 1199 must correspond with the twenty sixth or twenty seventh, and not with the twenty fourth of the reign. Another specimen of the same coinage, on which the year of the era is obliterated, has the twenty fifth of the reign; as has a half rupih of the same class, weighing 3 dw. 17½ grains.

It was about this period (Jan. 1785) that *Sindiah*, the Mahratta chief, entered Dehli, and was by *Shâh Alum* invested with the office of *amîr al-amra* or first minister of the empire.

DCCCCLXVIII.—DCCCCLXIX.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

Gold, An. 1202.

I. Area. As in the preceding *muhr*. ۱۲۰۲ 1202 (1787-8).

II. Area. ۱۹ &c. ضرب مرشداباد سنه جلوس

Cuditur in *Murshid-âbâd* an. regn. imper. fel. 19. (malè pro 29). 7 dw. 22 gr.

In the workmanship of this coin we observe the first instance of milling on the edges, in the European manner. There is a difference also in the style of engraving the characters, which have here a flat surface. The weight exceeds that of any preceding coin of the same denomination.

A half-*muhr* of precisely the same fabric, weighs 3 dw. 23½ gr.; a quarter, not milled, but very neat, 2 dw.; and an eighth, on which the legend is contracted, 1 dw. These are all of the year 1202, with 19 as that of the reign.

Of

Of the year 1203 there is an eighth, and also the sixteenth of a *muhr;* the latter diminutive coin weighing 12 grains. GOLD, An. 1202.

It was in this year (July A. D. 1788) that the unfortunate *Shâh Alum* was deprived of his sight, at *Dehli*, by one of his rebellious nobles, named *Ghulâm Kâdir*.

DCCCCLXX.—DCCCCLXXIV.

شاه عالم *SHÁH ALUM.*

I. and II. AREAS. As in the preceding. 7 dw. 11 gr. SILVER, An. 1202.

The type is the same as that of the last gold *muhr*, but the surface of the rupih is larger. The edge is milled, as is also that of a half rupih of the same year, weighing 3 dw. 18 gr.

There are also two Calcutta rupihs of the rude stamp already noticed, one of the twenty ninth and the other of the thirtieth year of the reign, answering to 1202 and 1203; but the hejrah dates seem to have been designedly obliterated. Their respective weights are 7 dw. 8 gr. and 7 dw. 6½ gr. Another of the same description has the thirty second of the reign along with the year 1198 of the era, which, if the former is correct, ought to be 1204 or 1205. Its weight is 7 dw. 4½ gr.; a second, but less perfect specimen, of the same date, weighing 7 dw. 7½ grains.

In addition to these there are two of the thirty ninth year (weighing respectively 7 dw. 7 gr. and 7 dw. 7½ gr.), one of which has 1212, and the other 1214, as the year of the era. In regard to these conflicting dates, it will perhaps be admitted as a general rule, that although both may be false, the more recent one is likely to be the more genuine; for otherwise a date must have been assumed that had not yet arrived in the course of nature.

DCCCCLXXV.—DCCCCLXXVIII.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

GOLD, An. 1204.

I. AREA. سکه شاه عالم پادشاه ۱۲۰۴

Nummus imperatoris *Shâh Alum.* 1204 (1789-90).

II. AREA. ضرب مرشدابان سنه ۱

Cuditur in *Murshid-âbâd* an. regn. 19 (31). 1 dw. 23¾ gr.

The legend of this quarter *muhr* is much more brief and simple than of that which has been noticed under the year 1202.

There is also a quarter rupih of this date, with the same brief legend, milled alike on the edges, and altogether so nearly resembling as to leave it doubtful whether they are not from the same die. A rupih and half rupih, with full inscriptions and handsomely executed, must, from circumstances, have been struck in this year also, but the hejrah date is not expressed on them, whilst that of the reign is nineteen as usual. Their respective weights are: 7 dw. 11½ gr., 3 dw. 17¾ gr., and 1 dw. 21 gr. With the rupih I was favoured by Lord Valentia (Mountnorris), who brought it from Bengal.

DCCCCLXXIX.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

SILVER, An. 1207.

I. AREA. As in the preceding coins of 1196 &c.

۱۲۰۷ 1207 (1792-3).

II. AREA. ضرب محمدابان بنارس سنه جلوس ۳۵ &c.

Cuditur in *Muhammed-âbâd Benâres*, an. regn. imper. fel. 35. 7 dw. 7 gr.

From

From the extended surface and laboured ornaments of this rupih, it appears to have been intended for a complimentary piece, rather than a current coin. The execution, however, is only moderate, but it has the merit of being correct in the relative dates of the hejrah and the reign. As customary on the money of this city, we perceive the device or *tamgha* of a fish. SILVER, An. 1207.

On the same side with the year of the reign, and near to its figures, there appear those of ١٧ (17), which at first seemed unaccountable; but upon deducting this number from the era, we shall be carried back to the year 1190–1776, in which the *Navâb* or nabob *Asuf ed-daulah* (within whose government it was struck) succeeded his father in the vizirat and the *subah* of Oude; which has been subsequently erected into a kingdom. From hence it would seem that the royal prerogative had been anticipated.

DCCCCLXXX.—DCCCCLXXXI.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

I. AREA. As in coins of 1196 &c. ١٢١٥ 1215 (1800-01). SILVER, An. 1215.

II. AREA. ٢٦ &c. ضرب محمداباد بنارس سنه جلوس

Cuditur in *Muhammed-âbâd Benâres*, an. regn. imper. fel. 26.

7 dw. 15 gr. 7 dw. 14 gr.

Another rupih of the same mint, and marked with the same year of the reign, has the year of the hejrah 1218; which corresponds, however, to the forty fifth, as the other does to the forty second year. Both of them exhibit the peculiar device, and on the former there appears also a banner.

DCCCCLXXXII.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

GOLD, An. 1218.

I. AREA. سکه زد زتایید اله حامي دین محمد
شاه عالم پادشاه صاحب قران ۱۲۱۷

Nummum cudit, adjuvante Deo, protector religionis Muhammedis, *Shâh Alum* imperator, dominus conjunctionis. 1218 (1803).

II. AREA. ضرب دار الخلافة شاه‌جهان‌آباد سنه جلوس
میمنت مانوس ۴۶

Cuditur in sede vicariatûs *Shâh-jehânâbâd*, an. regn. imper. fel. 46.
6 dw. 22 gr.

The large surface of this gold coin, on which, along with a variety of ornaments, the royal insignia are mixed with the characters, gives it an air of richness to which it has no solid claim, its weight being some grains less than that of an ordinary *muhr*. The legend differs only in a few immaterial words from that which has been generally found on the coinage, but the occasion that called for the engraving of the dies was peculiar; being no less than that of replacing *Shâh Alum* on the throne of *Dehli*, by the English government (at the head of which was Lord Wellesley), in consequence of the splendid victory over the Mahratta forces obtained by General Lord Lake.(1) The gold and silver money issued for the purpose of this celebrity is the more remarkable for being, as it would seem, the only coinage of his long reign that had actually been struck in the mint of his own capital. No other, at least, has reached the hands of collectors.(2)

(1) In the Asiatic Annual Register for 1805, vol. vii. p. 44, there is a description of what are termed the '*Mahi* and *Moratib* insignia of an Order instituted by the Moghul emperors of Hindostan;' of which those on the coin may be a representation.

(2) "Fateor me dubitare, says T. C. Tychsen, an ex iis, qui mihi quidem innotuerunt, ullus Schah Alemi ipsius jussu cusus sit." De num. Ind. Comment. p. 191.

In the cabinet of Mrs. Welland there are three silver pieces of the same ornamented description, of the years 1217, 1218, and 1219 of the hejrah, and forty sixth and forty seventh of the reign. Two of these, having in their centre the small figure of what was intended for a lion, were not allowed to pass into circulation, from deference to the scruples of the monarch, to whom it had been suggested by his courtiers (being himself incapable of seeing) that the English chief had introduced the representation of some unclean animal. The device was accordingly changed for a flower, and the whole was encircled with a wreath composed of the emblems of the United Kingdom. Of this last corrected coin there is also a specimen, weighing 7 dw. 4 gr., in this collection. GOLD, An. 1218.

DCCCCLXXXIII.—DCCCCLXXXIV.

شاه عالم *SHÂH ALUM.*

I. AREA. As in the preceding gold coin. 1218 (1803). SILVER, An. 1218.

II. AREA. ضرب احمدنگر فرخ‌اباد سنه جلوس ٣

Cuditur in *Ahmed-nagar Ferrukh-âbâd*, an. regn. imper. fel. 39 (malè pro 45 s. 46). 14 dw. 5½ gr. 7 dw. 3½ gr.

This handsome double rupih, together with a single rupih of corresponding appearance, and a few more pieces of different denominations, were struck at *Ferrukh-âbâd* in the presence of Lord Valentia, to whom I am indebted for the specimens.

DCCCCLXXXV.

DCCCCLXXXV.—DCCCCLXXXVI.

شاه عالم *SHÁH ALUM.*

GOLD, An.(1218).

I. AREA. سكه مبارك شاه عالم پادشاه غازي

Nummus faustus imperatoris victoriosi *Shâh Alum.*

II. AREA. ضرب . . . . سنه جلوس ۴۶ &c.

Cuditur in . . . . an. regn. imper. fel. 46. 7 dw. 11 gr.

The place of coinage does not appear upon this *muhr*, the surface of which was too confined to receive more than a part of the impression. The date of the hejrah is also wanting, but is indicated by the year of the reign to have been 1218 or 1219. It resembles those which are termed *muhrs* of *Arkât.*

Of the same year of the reign, and evidently from the same mint, are some very small gold coins, weighing each about 12 grs. and which must be considered as gold *ânâs* or sixteenth parts of a *muhr.* In appearance they resemble rather the gold fanams of the Karnatik, than fractional denominations of Hindustani coins, which, as we have seen under the year 1202, were executed with remarkable neatness.

DCCCCLXXXVII.

شاه عالم *SHÁH ALUM.*

SILVER, An. 1219.

I. AREA. As in *muhr* of 1218. ۱۲۱۹ 1219 (1804).

II. AREA.

II. Area. ضرب دار الخلافة شاهجهانابان — Silver, An. 1219.
سنه جلوس ميمنت مانوس ۴۷

Cuditur in urbe imperiali *Shâh Jehânabâd*, anno regni &c. 47.
7 dw. 3½ gr.

The ornamental border of this rupih, representing a wreath of roses, is remarkable. It is the latest coin of this unfortunate emperor that has reached my hands. After a long and eventful reign of forty seven solar years, he died in 1221–1806, leaving an ideal monarchy to his son *Akbar shâh sâni*, or the *second* of that name.

DCCCCLXXXVII.

غازي الدين حيدر *GHÂZI ED-DÎN HEIDER.*

I. Area. سكه زد برهفت كشور سايه فضل اله — Silver, An. 1234.
حامي دين محمد شاه عالم پادشاه ۱۲۳۴

Nummum cudit per septem climata, sub umbra gratiæ Dei, protector fidei Muhammedis *Shâh Alum* imperator. 1234 (1818-19).

II. Area. ضرب دار الامارة لكهنو صوبه اوده
سنه ۲۶ جلوس ميمنت مانوس

Cuditur sede imperii *Lakhanau* (Luknow), provinciæ *Audah* (Oude), anno regn. imp. felicis 26. 7 dw. 4 gr.

In addition to the legend on the reverse, that side of the rupih contains the singular exhibition of armorial bearings adopted by the *Navâb*, now the king of Oude. At the bottom of the shield are two fish, inclosing the figures of the date. The supporters of the arms are a lion and a tiger, each holding a banner with the emblem of a fish also, which is said to have been the device of *Râma*, the sovereign of *Ayôdhya* or modern Oude. The

SILVER, An. 1234. The crest is the kind of Indian dagger or *kris* called *katár*, surmounted with a diadem. Under the word شاه, near the centre of I., we perceive the letter ج, the purport of which is not understood.

In the year 1218–1803 the *Navâb* succeeded his father *Sadat Alí* in the *súbah* or provincial government, and it may be remarked that at the period of striking this peculiar coin, being the twenty sixth year from his accession, he must still have considered the emperor *Shâh Alum*, however personally insignificant, as his liege lord, for the inscription contains the titles of the latter only, and the name of the *nâvab* himself does not appear. But subsequently this nominal dependence ceased, and under the administration of the Marquis of Hastings the English government acquiesced in his assuming the style and insignia of royalty, with the title of *pâd-shâh*, which had hitherto been exclusively enjoyed by the emperors of Hindustan.

Since writing the above I have had an opportunity of seeing a gold *muhr* of this king, struck in the year immediately following the date of this rupih, being the first of his new reign. The armorial bearings are the same as on the silver, but their legends differ considerably. Instead of the titles of the late emperor, we find his own of شاه زمن غازي الدين حيدر ١٢٣٥ ج 'Rex fortunæ *Ghâzí-ed-dín Heider* 1235 (1819-20);' and on the side occupied by the arms, the words سنه احد جلوس ميمنت مانوس 'anno primo.regni,' &c. with some other characters left imperfect from the want of space to receive the whole impression. His titles at fuller length, as they appear in his correspondence, are as follows: حضرت مولانا ابوالظفر معز الدين شاه زمن غازي الدين حيدر پادشاه غازي; from whence it appears that his family are *shîahs* or of the sect of *Alí*; whereas the descendants of the emperor *Bâber* are *sunnîs*. The weight of the gold coin is 6 dw. 21 gr.

TÍPÚ SULTÁN تیپو سلطان, OF MYSORE.

THE coins of the last sovereign of Mysore, in the Karnatik, differ from those circulating in the neighbouring provinces, whether struck in the name of the Moghul emperor or of the former princes of the country, and seem intended by their peculiarities to mark the independence of a new dynasty.

The first circumstance requiring notice is, that instead of his own name or title of *Tîpû Sultân*, by which he announced himself soon after the death of his father, *Heider Ali Khân*, (having previously been styled *Tîpû Sâheb*) his coinage expresses no other than the name of *Heider*, which gives it an ambiguous character. This is by some attributed to a sentiment of filial duty and respect; but we may rather conclude that he adopted the term (signifying in Arabic, a lion, and by misapplication, a tiger) as an emblematical designation, equivalent to a family name. There appears also an obvious allusion to the attribute of *Heider*- or *Asad-allah* (lion of God) bestowed upon the khalif *Ali*, from whom the sultan affected to trace his maternal descent, and whom he considered as his patron and his model;[1] although without professing the tenets of the *Shîàh* sect.

The

(1) " Tippoo Sultaun, says Colonel Beatson, seems to have adopted *Alli* as the guardian genius, or tutelary saint, of his dominions; as the peculiar object of his veneration, and as an example to imitate. His selection of the tiger as an emblem, appears to be intended in honour of *Alli*; for the natives of Hindostan make no distinction between a lion and a tiger. The former, it is said, has been seen in the most northerly parts of Hindostan; but the fact is very doubtful: the latter abounds in every part of India. Hence the word *assud*, which has been interpreted by all European orientalists to signify a lion, is by the natives of Hindostan termed *sheer* or tiger. Moreover, *Hyder*, which also signifies a lion, but interpreted by the natives of Hindostan tiger, is another title of *Alli*: it was likewise the name of Tippoo Sultaun's father. The name *Hyder*, thus distinguished by the triple circumstance of its being the title of *Alli*, the name of Tippoo Sultaun's assumed emblem, and the name of his father, the founder of his dominion, is introduced

The titles, therefore, which appear on his money are to be considered as applying to *Tipú* himself, and not to *Heider Ali* his father, who never assumed the regal style of sultan, nor coined in his own name, but continued, until the time of his death, to issue the currency of the Mysore *rájás*, whose powers he had usurped;(2) with the distinction only of the letter ح H. on the Reverse. In like manner, upon all the coinage of *Tipú*, near the centre, and immediately over the word حيدر *Heider*, we perceive the same unconnected character.

With respect to the mode of dating his coins, it will be found to have varied at different periods of his reign. From the year after his accession in 1197 of the *hejrah*, until 1200 inclusive, he appears to have employed the usual mahometan era; but on his coinage of the following year, instead of 1201, we observe the date of 1215, being a difference of fourteen years. To discover the principle of this new reckoning seemed difficult, until it was observed that on some copper coins of the year 1221, the date is accompanied by the word مولودي, signifying 'from the birth,' and upon one of 1222, by the still more express words مولودي محمد 'from the birth of Muhammed;' which do not leave a doubt of the era being intended to date from the time of that event, as recorded (although not without contradictions) by the historians; nor is the small number of years of which the difference consists so formidable an objection as it at first appears, when we consider that the period elapsed since the birth of the Prophet, is estimated in the new system by solar instead of lunar years; of which latter the era of the *hejrah* is composed.

By the generality of Arabian writers their Prophet is said to have received his birth at Mecca in the seventh month of the year 882 of the Syro-Macedonian era, answering to the year of Christ 570. According to one respectable authority, however, it took place on a day corresponding to the 8th of April 571. If therefore, adopting this latter date, we deduct

by him on every occasion, and either the word at length or its initial letter, is stamped upon every article of every kind belonging to him." View of the Origin and Conduct of the War with Tippoo Sultaun, p. 155.

(2) See a 'History of the Kings of Bijanagar and Anagundy, and their subjugation by Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan,' by Maj. Mackenzie. Asiatic An. Regist., an. 1804.

deduct 571 from 1786, in the December of which year the fifth of *Tipú's* reign began (reckoning strictly from his father's decease), the remainder will be 1215; as we find the date of the new era expressed upon the coins of that year in which the alteration took place. It is evident, indeed, that this exact coincidence cannot be insisted upon, and especially as the preponderance of authorities is in favour of the year 570, rather than 571. Yet as we are not informed of those by which the sultan was guided in ascertaining the age of the Prophet, and cannot be confident of his accuracy in computing the period elapsed, through the medium of Greek and Arabian calendars, any want of precise agreement will scarcely be urged as an objection to this mode of explaining his system. That the years of his new era were solar (or, more properly, luni-solar, with an intercalation) we know, practically, from a comparison of dates, and it would seem that his object was to reconcile his mussulman subjects to the innovation by calculating it from the nativity of their Prophet. Some other changes connected with numerical notation, and consequently with the dates as they appear on his money, remain now to be considered.

Many eastern nations, as well as the Greeks and Romans, have been in the practice of expressing numbers, and dates in particular, by means of the letters of the alphabet, to each of which a certain value is assigned. These may be either employed simply like other ciphers, or, being distributed amongst the words of a sentence, may constitute what is termed a chronogram. It must at the same time be noticed, that in forming their system the Arabians did not adhere to the direct order of the letters in their own alphabet (such at least as it now exists) but followed that of the Hebrews, from whom they acquired much of their learning, calling ا 1, ب 2, ج 3, د 4, &c. and from thence naming the scheme ابجد *abjd*, or, as pronounced, *abjed*. With this antiquated system of notation the sultan was dissatisfied, and he determined upon making it conform to the modern Arabic alphabet. Accordingly, in his scheme, ا is 1, ب 2, ت 3, ث 4, &c., and instead of ابجد *abjd* it is consistently named ابتث *abts* or *abtas*. In the following table the numerical powers of the letters of both alphabets are expressed, and their application to the coinage will be hereafter shewn.

The ابجد Abjed *or usual mode of alphabetical numeration.*

ا	ب	ج	د	ه	و	ز	ح	ط	ي	ك	ل	م	ن
١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٦	٧	٨	٩	١٠	٢٠	٣٠	٤٠	٥٠
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	20.	30.	40.	50.

س	ع	ف	ص	ق	ر	ش	ت	ث	خ	ذ	ض	ظ	غ
٦٠	٧٠	٨٠	٩٠	١٠٠	٢٠٠	٣٠٠	٤٠٠	٥٠٠	٦٠٠	٧٠٠	٨٠٠	٩٠٠	١٠٠٠
60.	70.	80.	90.	100.	200.	300.	400.	500.	600.	700.	800.	900.	1000.

The ابتث Abtas *or* Sultânî *mode.*

ا	ب	ت	ث	ج	ح	خ	د	ذ	ر	ز	س	ش	ص
١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٦	٧	٨	٩	١٠	٢٠	٣٠	٤٠	٥٠
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	20.	30.	40.	50.

ض	ط	ظ	ع	غ	ف	ق	ك	ل	م	ن	و	ه	ي
٦٠	٧٠	٨٠	٩٠	١٠٠	٢٠٠	٣٠٠	٤٠٠	٥٠٠	٦٠٠	٧٠٠	٨٠٠	٩٠٠	١٠٠٠
60.	70.	80.	90.	100.	200.	300.	400.	500.	600.	700.	800.	900.	1000.

It is proper to observe that although the late government of Mysore was Mahometan, the population of the country is Hindu, and that amongst this ancient, agricultural race, a solar or luni-solar computation of time had prevailed from the earliest ages. They had also established, for civil purposes, a cycle of sixty years, each distinguished by a particular name, and commencing about the vernal equinox. Their current cycle began in the year 1807.

Tipú being sensible of much practical utility in this system, or desirous of shewing indulgence to the customs of his Hindu subjects, resolved upon adopting it into his calendar, and at the period of reforming the lunar year and era of the *hejrah*, began to reckon also by this luni-solar cycle. Instead, however, of retaining the original names of the respective years, he formed from the letters of his *Abtas* above described, a new set of numerical terms, composed of such letters as would denote the progressive numbers from one to sixty. But as these letters, if taken either indiscriminately or in strict succession, might not form significant

or

or even pronounceable words, which common use required, a latitude was admitted in the selection and arrangement of letters equally capable of forming by their combination the same number: for as the sum results from simple addition, and does not depend upon the place (of units, tens, &c.) it follows that they may be combined in any order; and that order was chosen which produced any known terms, however trifling or inapplicable their meanings.

To explain this by an example, we shall take the year 42 of the cycle, corresponding with 1788 of J.C., 1202 of the *hejrah*, 1216 of the sultan's new era, and the sixth of his reign. The number 42 may be expressed by various combinations of the letters of the *abtas*, but if we produce it by adding together س 30, ا 1, ر 10, and again ا 1, we shall at the same time compose the word سارا *sârâ* 'odoriferous;' which is the name appropriated to the forty second year of the cycle, and such we find it on the coins. Thus (for illustration) if it were required to express in the Roman method of numeration the date of 65, it might be done by combining the letters L 50, V 5, and X 10, which together would form the word LVX 'light.'

Names of the Sultânî *years of the cycle of sixty according to the* ابجد abjed.

٥	٤	٣	٢	١
ببا	ابا	اب	احمد	احد
١٠	٩	٨	٧	٦
اوج	جاه	اباد	ابد	بجا
١٥	١٤	١٣	١٢	١١
ياد	وجه	جهاد	جهد	ج
٢٠	١٩	١٨	١٧	١٦
بدوح	واهد	حي	جوزاه	زهد
٢٥	٢٤	٢٣	٢٢	٢١
حاوي	كد	يوز	طايب	طيب

٢٦	٢٧	٢٨	٢٩	٣٠
كبد	اكاه	وحيد	ياحي	كي
٣١	٣٢	٣٣	٣٤	٣٥
كيا	كبود	ابل	دل	دال
٣٦	٣٧	٣٨	٣٩	٤٠
جبال	زكي	ازل	جلو	دلو
٤١	٤٢	٤٣	٤٤	٤٥
ما	كبك	جم	جام	ادم
٤٦	٤٧	٤٨	٤٩	٥٠
ولي	والي	كوكب	كواكب	يم
٥١	٥٢	٥٣	٥٤	٥٥
دوام	حمد	حامد	جان	ادن
٥٦	٥٧	٥٨	٥٩	٦٠
هماي	مجيد	كحل	جهان	مجيز

Names of the Sultânî *years of the cycle of sixty according to the* ابتث *abtas.*

١	٢	٣	٤	٥
احد	احمد	اب	ابا	باب
٦	٧	٨	٩	١٠
تاب	تابا	بجا	تاج	تابت
١١	١٢	١٣	١٤	١٥
ابد	اداب	بار	حاجب	جر
١٦	١٧	١٨	١٩	٢٠
رجا	حار	در	دار	راحت

۲۵	۲۴	۲۳	۲۲	۲۱
خرد	تاز	خراج	چرخ	بارد
۳۰	۲۹	۲۸	۲۷	۲۶
زر	زاد	دادار	درتاج	بدرتاب
۳۵	۳۴	۳۳	۳۲	۳۱
زرتاب	ستا	زراب	بزر	زار
۴۰	۳۹	۳۸	۳۷	۳۶
بسد	دراز	سنجا	سنج	رب‌تار
۴۵	۴۴	۴۳	۴۲	۴۱
زبرجد	شتا	سراب	سارا	شا
۵۰	۴۹	۴۸	۴۷	۴۶
حراست	شاد	راسخ	ساحر	سحر
۵۵	۵۴	۵۳	۵۲	۵۱
بشتر	رستار	بارش	شاداب	ساز
۶۰	۵۹	۵۸	۵۷	۵۶
ارشاد	صباح	رشد	شارح	بشارت

It must be observed that the terms احد *ahad* and احمد *ahmed* are arbitrarily assigned to the first and second years, because no letters besides ا or ب could, according to the principle of the system, be assigned to them, and these, separately, do not constitute words, although jointly as اب *âb* 'water,' they apply well to the third year. It is thought superfluous to annex translations of the sixty names, as the knowledge of their signification, even if free from ambiguity, would add nothing to our knowledge of the subject. Such of them, however, as occur upon the coins shall be explained in their respective descriptions, and opportunities will at the same time be taken of observing upon some further peculiarities.

To

To the twelve months also of which these years consist, new and fanciful names were assigned, and as they frequently appear in the legends, it becomes necessary to specify them. The former of the two lists here given was that which *Tipú* employed during the first four years of his reign. The second contains those names which, upon changing the *abjed* for the *abtas*, he found it requisite to adapt to the new system of numeration; for as the initial letters of each month denote the numerical order in which they stand, the former set of names could not be retained without confusion.

Names of the twelve months, commencing with numerical letters, according to the abjed.

۴	۳	۲	۱
دارائي	جعفري	بهاري	احمدي
۸	۷	٦	۵
حيدري	زبرجدي	واسعي	هاشمي
۱۲	۱۱	۱۰	۹
بياضي	ايزدي	يوسفي	طلوعي

Names of the twelve months, commencing with numerical letters, according to the abtas.

۴	۳	۲	۱
شمري	تقي	بهاري	احمدي
۸	۷	٦	۵
ديني	خسروي	حيدري	جعفري
۱۲	۱۱	۱۰	۹
رباني	رازي	رحماني	ذاكري

In the names of the eleventh and twelfth months it will be noticed that in the old series the letter ا denoting 1, and the letter ب denoting 2,

2, are *followed* (according to the usual order of Arabic writing, from right to left) by the letter ي denoting 10; but that in the new, the decimal ر *precedes* the units ا and ب. To explain the principle of this inversion it must be considered that the Arabians, who in all their early inscriptions expressed numbers in words at length, borrowed in later times the arithmetical notation of the Indians, by whom the figures are placed (as with us, who borrowed them at second hand from the Arabians) in the order of from left to right; and, consequently, that the arrangement of numeral figures in Arabic and Persian manuscripts is at variance with the mode of writing. To the sultan this incongruity was offensive, and he determined upon correcting it throughout his dominions, by causing the numerals in all public documents, and especially on his coinage, to proceed, in conformity with the words, from right to left. There are occasional instances, however, of the engraver's forgetting his master's commands and relapsing into the ancient practice.

The information here given, upon a subject that has occasioned considerable perplexity to the ingenious and learned persons who have directed their attention to it,(3) is derived in substance from a paper in the Persian language procured by an officer who visited Seringapatam in an official capacity soon after its conquest, and by him communicated to Mr. Wilkins, who assisted me (many years since) in methodising its contents. The subject has lost much of its importance by the subversion of the late government of Mysore and discontinuance of the sultan's institutions; but even the caprices and eccentricities of men who have figured on the theatre of the world excite curiosity and command a degree of interest.(4)

DENOMINATIONS

(3) " Obscuriores sunt quæ huic æræ additæ sunt *anni notæ*, ut سال شتا , سال شا in nostris, in aliis aliæ. Hæc aut astrologicum quid sapere videntur, ut quasi prognostica anni contineant, aut sensum aliquem arcanum involvere. Liceat mihi harum notarum indicem a numis collectum adjicere, e quibus comparatis inter se aliud fortasse felicius ingenium verum eruere possit." T. C. Tychsen, Comm. de numis Indicis, p. 201. See also Maj. Edward Moor's Narrative, &c. Appendix p. 468, &c.

(4) Having shewn what I had written on the subject of this cycle to my friend the late Mr. Henry Cavendish, I received in return the following memorandum: " In some parts of India the civil year is solar and in others luni-solar. At Madras it is solar and begins about April 11th. At the place in the Karnatik where M. Du Champ resided, and which he names *Chrisnabouram*, it is luni-solar; and there seems to be sufficient proof that at both places the year of the cycle begins at the same time as the civil year, which is probably

DENOMINATIONS OF MYSORE COINAGE.

GOLD.—احمدي *Ahmedi* or *sultânî* gold *muhr*. صديقي *Sadîkî* or half-*muhr*. فاروقي *Fârûkî* or *sultânî* pagoda or *hûn*. فرخي *Ferkhî* or gold *sultânî* fanam.

SILVER.—حيدري *Heiderî* or double *sultânî* rupih. امامي *Imâmî* or *sultânî* rupih. عابدي *Abidî* or half-rupih. باقري *Bâkrî* or quarter rupih. جعفري *Jâfarî* or silver falam or fanam.. كاظمي *Kâzmi* or half-fanam.

COPPER.—مشربي *Mashrabî* or مشتري *Mashtarî*, *dod'dudu* or double *dub*. زهره *Zahrah*, *dudu*, *peisah*, or *dub*. بهرام *Behrâm* or half-*dub*. اختر *Akhter* or quarter-*dub*.

Besides these there were in currency throughout the sultan's dominions the *Ikerî varaha* or *hûn* or *swâmî* pagodas of the *Karnata râjâs*, and the *bahâdurî*

the case in all parts of the peninsula where the cycle is used for dating. From the calendar given by Dr. Buchanan (Journey through Mysore, &c. vol. I. p. 230.) it appears that the civil year in Mysore is luni-solar, and of course it varies in its commencement from about March 12th to April 11th. In 1800 it began on the 26th March. Dr. B. has given three other calendars, in all of which the year is solar. That of Tanjore, (vol. II. p. 202.) agrees with that of Madras. The year in southern Kanara (vol. III. p. 27) begins a month earlier; and that of Malayala or Malabar (vol. II. p. 355) begins in September. In all probability he is mistaken in supposing that the year consists uniformly of 365 days.

" It appears from a variety of dates of papers inserted in the Appendix to Col. Beatson's ' View of the origin, &c. of the war with Tippoo Sultaun,' that he adopted the Hindu year of Mysore, with very little, if any alteration; for the years and all the months begin at the same time as the corresponding Hindu months, and the years of his cycle correspond to those of the Hindu cycle. It may be observed, also, that there was an intercalary month between May and December in 1798; so that he appears to have adopted the most striking feature of their year, or that of placing the intercalary month wherever it is wanted, and not at any fixed part of the year. It may be further observed, that between Nov. 21st and Dec. 5th 1796, is an interval of only fourteen days, by the European date, but of fifteen by Tippoo's; so that, if there is no mistake in the dates, he must have used the intricate Hindu method of counting by *tit'his*." H. C.

During the latter years of the life of this eminent philosopher, whose talents and acquirements were more general than those of any other man of science of our own days, he amused his inquisitive mind with the investigation of Hindu and Chinese astronomy and chronology; on which subjects he left behind him some valuable, although unfinished tracts. And here I cannot refrain from expressing my regret that no literary or other monument exists of this distinguished person (whose discoveries, especially in chemical science, have been eulogized by our ablest professors as placing him in a rank inferior only to Bacon and Newton) than his communications to the Royal Society, published from time to time in the Philosophical Transactions. The same instinctive modesty that led him to shrink from whatever might have the semblance of a pursuit of fame, restrained him from the publication of any separate work bearing his name, as well as from allowing any likeness to be taken of his person, in painting or statuary.

bahâdurî hûns or pagodas of *Heider Ali*, coined in the name of the *râjâ*, but marked with the initial of Heider's name, as will be hereafter described. Between the silver and copper pieces of money there was a regular correspondence of weight; but this had no reference to the gold.

DCCCCLXXXVIII.—DCCCCXC.

تيپو سلطان *TÍPÚ SULTÁN.*

SILVER, An. 1198.

I. AREA. دين احمد در جهان روشن است
زفتح حيدر ح ضرب پتن بسال ازل
سنه هجري ١١٩٨

Religio laudatissima (s. Muhammedis) in mundo illustris fit per victoriam *Heider. H.* Cuditur in *Pătăn* (Seringapatam) anno cycli *Azal* (38); *hejrah* 1198 (1784).

II. AREA. هو السلطان الوحيد العادل
سيوم بهاري سال ازل سنه جلوس ٢

Ille est sultanus unicus, justus. Tertio (die mensis) *Bahârî*, anno cycli *Azal* (38). Anno regni 2.
14 dw. 16¼ gr. 14 dw. 17½ gr.

This is the earliest date that occurs of any coin struck by this sultan, and as neither Major Moor's nor the Göttingen collection contains one of 1197, it is probable that he did not coin money during the first year of his reign. He was then still engaged in war, and not having arranged his systematic plan for the mint, might, as was done by his father, issue for a time the *Kanter'râya* and *Vir'râya* or *swâmî* pagodas of Mysore and *Kûrga*.

As the year 1198 of the *hejrah*, in which this double rupih was struck, began in November 1783 and ended in November 1784, it answers to the

SILVER, An. 1198.

second year of the reign, whether we reckon from the death of *Heider Ali*, in December 1782, or, with more correctness, from the epoch of *Tipú's* accession in the following year. But besides these two dates there is superadded the year of the cycle of sixty, which it thus appears he adopted from the Hindûs, some time before the introduction of his new era. This year is named ازل *azal* 'eternity,' and upon reference to the *abjed* table (the *abtas* not being yet in use) we shall find that ا 1, ز 7, and ل 30 express, when added together, 38, the proper number of the current year, which commenced on the 22d March 1784.

We further observe the peculiar words سيوم بهاري, implying the third day of the month named *Bahârî*, the object of which precise date is not immediately apparent, nor is it surprising that persons unacquainted with the names given by *Tipú* to the twelve months of the year should have failed to make even a plausible conjecture on the subject.(1) An examination, however, of the silver and gold coins of the year 1216, where the words تاريخ جلوسي are added to thirty seven of the cycle, will clear up the difficulty, and satisfy us that the third day of *Bahârî* or second month of the calendar, is no other than the day of his accession, or that on which he extinguished the pretensions (in some degree respected by his father) of the ancient royal family, and declared himself sultan. It corresponds, as has been observed, to the 4th May 1783; at which period he was flushed with the victory recently obtained over a British army, on the Malabar coast.

The word پٹن *Patan*, or, vulgarly, *Puttun*, signifies the city, 'per excellentiam,' and is meant to denote Seringapatam, the capital of the Mysore dominion, to which it had been so applied from an early period, as well as to the capital of *Gujerat* and other Hindu states.(2)

A double

(1) "Quid tamen sit سيوم بهاري ab aliis discere cupio, in India versatis. An tertium numorum genus, verno tempore cusum? .... Verba, arcanam aliquam significationem hæc habent, et studio celatam, quam divinando expedere non licet." T. C. Tychsen, Comm. de num. Ind. p. 199. Major Moor, who has furnished excellent engravings of some of these coins, avows the same uncertainty as to the meaning of the words. See Narrative &c. p. 469.

(2) "*Seringapatam* (says Buchanan) is commonly called *Patana* or *Patan*, that is to say, the city; but the name used in our maps is a corruption from *Srí Ranga patana*, the city of *Srí Ranga*,

A double *sultânî* rupih is the usual denomination of the coin, but at a later period *Tîpû* applied to it the name of *Heiderî*. Its intrinsic value is about 3*s.* 10*d.*, but if of the fineness of English standard, it would, according to its weight, be about 4*s.* 4*d.* The workmanship is superior to that of the generality of Indo-Moghul coinage; the surface is sufficiently broad to admit the whole impression; and the edge is milled in the manner of the old French crowns. SILVER, An. 1198.

Another double *sultânî* rupih has the *hejrah* date of 1199, with the سال or year of the cycle, جلو *jalû*, consisting of the letters ج 3, ل 30, and و 6, making together the year 39. The word implies a stake or spit, but the signification (as before explained) is not meant to be applicable, any more than the names of our months, May, June, or July.

A third of the same denomination bears the date of 1200 of the *hejrah*, and is the last in which that era is employed. It is well known that *Tîpû* had a dislike to the term on account of its signification of 'flight,' and the emperor *Akbar* is said to have shewn the same repugnance to the use of it. The name of the year of the cycle is here دلو *dalû* 'a water-bucket' and the 'sign of Aquarius,' the letters of which produce the number 40. It is also marked as the fourth year of the sultan's reign.

DCCCCXCI.—DCCCCXCIII.

تيپو سلطان *TÎPÛ SULTÂN.*

I. AREA. هو السلطان العادل سنه هجري ١١٩٨ GOLD, An. 1198.

Ille est sultanus justus. Anno *hejrah* 1198 (1783-4).

II. AREA

Ranga, from its containing a temple dedicated to *Vishnu* under that name." Journey through Mysore, &c. vol. I. p. 62. By the same writer we are informed that the *Vir' Ráya* is the prince of the *Kúrga* country, which fell under the dominion of *Tipu*. Vol. II. p. 94.

GOLD, An. 1198.

II. AREA. ح نگر ۲

H. (Heider) Nagar (Bednore). An. reg. 2.
2 dw. 5 gr. 2 dw. 4½ gr.

These gold coins, of which there are several specimens, are equal in weight to the *varaha* or *hun* of the former Mysore rajas, and are vulgarly denominated *sultâní* pagodas. They were struck in the second year of the sultan's reign, at Bednore, to which place his father had given the name of *Heider-nagar* or town of *Heider*, but on the coinage it is inscribed *Nagar* simply. Their value, according to Buchanan, is 8*s.* and the fraction of a penny.

Another, of the same denomination and coined at the same place, has the date of 1200 and fourth year of the reign.

There are also very small *sultâní hana*, *fálam* or *palam*, commonly termed *Tipú's* gold fanams, coined in the years 1198, 1199, and 1200, at Bednore *(Nagar)*, *Kalikút* on the Malabar coast, and Seringapatam. Although their weight is 6 grains, being that of the *Kanter'raya* fanams of Mysore, they contain only 3½ of pure gold, and the value, according to Buchanan, is 8*d.* and a small fraction. On the Reverse is the letter ح only.

DCCCCXCIV.—DCCCCXCV.

تیپو سلطان *TÍPÚ SULTÁN.*

SILVER, An. 1215 N. Æ.

I. AREA. دین احمد محمد در جهان روشن است
ز فتح حیدر ح ضرب نگر سال شا سنه محمد ۱۲۱۵

Religio laudatissima Muhammedis in mundo illustris fit per victoriam *Heider. H.* Cuditur in *Nagar* (Bednore) anno cycli *Shâ* (41), anno (æræ novæ) 1215 (1786-7).

II. AREA.

II. Area. هو السلطان الوحيد العادل
سيوم بهاري سال‌شا سنه جلوس ٥

Illĕ est sultanus unicus, justus. Tertio (die mensis) *Bahârî*, anno cycli *Shâ* (41). Anno regni. 5. 14 dw. 19 gr.

Silver, An. 1215 N. Æ.

In the legend of this double *sultânî* rupih, of the fifth year of the reign, we observe the transition that took place from the accustomed date of the *hejrah*, according to which it should have been 1201, to the year 1215 of *Tipû's* new reckoning. The principle of this change and of the mode of counting by solar years from the supposed time of Muhammed's birth, has been already explained.(1)

Another innovation that presents itself is the inverted order of the numerals, which here follows that of the Arabic writing, from right to left, and has rendered the date incomprehensible to those who have not been aware of the new system. We also perceive the addition of the word محمد *Muhammed* to that of احمد *Ahmed* at the top of the legend in Area I.; but whether they should be read in conjunction (forming an admissible Persian, although not an Arabic phrase), or, whether the name, so introduced, should be considered as independent of the sentence, it is not easy to decide, but in either case it seems intended to stop the murmurings of those to whom the exclusion of the *hejrah* could not fail to give occasion of scandal, and who might have begun to suspect their sovereign of heterodoxy. In fact there is little reason to doubt that had he reigned longer, and enjoyed the leisure of peace, he would have attempted to establish a new religion, and to assume a character beyond that of a temporal prince.

It is remarkable that some of these novelties were adopted, not at the commencement of the year, when a fresh die would be otherwise necessary, but in the course of it; for the date of 1215 appears on a specimen that neither has the numerals of the date reversed, nor the name of *Muhammed* at the top of the area; but the latter is found immediately after the word سنه 'anno,' at bottom, where it is evidently designed to be an appellative of the new era.

The

(1) P. 700.

SILVER, An. 1215 N. Æ.

The name of the year of the cycle is composed of the two letters شا *shâ*, which express the numbers forty and one. The word signifies 'a sheep,' and has other equally inapplicable meanings.

A half *sultânî* rupih, of very neat workmanship, and weighing 3 dw. 15½ gr., has in every respect the same inscription as the last mentioned double *sultânî*.

DCCCCXCVI—DCCCCXCVII.

تيپو سلطان *TÎPÛ SULTÂN.*

GOLD, An. 1215.

I. AREA. محمد هو السلطان العادل سنه ١٢١٥

Muhammed. Ille est sultanus justus. Anno (æræ novæ) 1215 (1786-7).

II. AREA. ح پٹن ٥

H. Patan (Seringapatam), (Anno regni) 5. 2 dw. 5 gr.

This pagoda, as it is vulgarly named, differs from those of 1198 and 1200, already described, only in the adoption of the new era, and in the place of coinage. It may be noticed that the usual monogram ح is combined with, and made to serve (a point being added) for the final letter of the word پٹن, in a mode that cannot conveniently be represented by types.

There is also a gold fanam of the same date, struck at كليكوت *Kalikût* or Calicut, on the coast of Malabar.

DCCCCXCVIII.

DCCCXCVIII.—M.

تیپو سلطان *TÍPÚ SULTÁN.*

SILVER, An. 1216.

I. AREA. دین احمد محمد در جهان روشن است
بر فتح حیدر ح حیدری
ضرب پتن سال سارا سنه ۱۲۱۶ .

Religio &c. illustris fit per victoriam *Heider* (s. leonis). *H. Heiderî* (species monetæ). Cuditur in *Patan* (Seringapatam) anno cycli *Sârâ* (42), anno (æræ novæ) 1216 (1787-8).

II. AREA. هو السلطان الوحید العادل تاریخ جلوس
سال سخ سیویم بهاري سنه جلوسي ٦

Ille est sultanus unicus, justus. Epocha accessionis anno *Sakh* (37), tertio (die mensis) *Bahârî*. Anno regni 6.

14 dw. 17½ gr. 14 dw. 17½ gr. 7 dw. 8 gr.

The word حیدري *Heiderî*, which is here for the first time introduced, although the name of one of the months in the new calendar, must be understood as the denomination of the coin, which, from this period, will be found upon all of the same description or double rupihs; whilst upon the other classes of gold and silver we shall observe their respective names. But the most striking peculiarity of the legend is, that besides the year of the new era, the year of the reign, and the corresponding year of the cycle (سارا *sârâ*, 42), we find words implying 'epoch of the accession, in the year سخ *sâkh* 37, third of the month *Bahârî*,' which as before observed, refers to the event which took place on the 4th May 1784, when he formally ascended the *musnud*. It is not a little remarkable that his death happened on the same day of the year 1799.

We may observe that a change, quite unjustifiable, appears in the orthography of the word سیوم 'third;' being, on this and all the subsequent coins, written سیویم, with an ي in the latter syllable.

A second specimen of the same year differs from the other in wanting the ornamental roses interspersed among the characters.

SILVER, An. 1216. A single *sultâní* rupih in the collection agrees with this in every part of the inscription, excepting that instead of the word *heiderí*, we find that of امامي *imámí*, by which this species of money was designated. Its weight is 7 dw. 8 gr., and its intrinsic value, according to Buchanan, is 1*s.* 11*d.*, being something inferior to the rupih of Hindustan. There are others of the same denomination, but rather lighter, of the years 1217 of the new era, 7 of the reign, and سال‌سراب *sirâb* 43 of the cycle: also of the years 1218 and 1220.

MI.—MII.

تيپو سلطان *TÍPÚ SULTÁN.*

GOLD, An. 1216.

I. AREA. فاروقي نگر ح سنه ٦

Fârûkî (species monetæ). *Nagar* (Bednore). *H.* Anno regni 6.

II. AREA. هو السلطان الوحيد العادل سنه محمد ١٢١٦

Ille est sultanus unicus, justus. Anno *Muhammed* (sc. æræ novæ) 1216 (1787-8). 2 dw. 5 gr.

Fárúkî is the appellation given in *Típú's* nomenclature to the small gold coin that has already been noticed as equivalent to the *varaha*, *hún*, or pagoda of the preceding government, and consequently of the value of about eight shillings. It is the quarter part of the *ahmedî*.

With respect to the name of *Muhammed* which appears at the top of all the inscriptions, it is evident that it cannot here be placed in the construction assigned to it in describing the double *sultâní* rupih of 1215, and I am led to think that notwithstanding the disjunction of the words, it should be understood to follow سنه anno, and to designate the new era.

Of three gold fanams of this year, with the letter ح on the Reverse, weighing barely six grains each, one has simply the words ضرب پتن ١٢١٦ 'cuditur in *Patan* 1216,' but the other two, along with the date express the

the word فرخي *ferkhí* or *ferrokhí*, which might seem to be intended for the name of the coin; but others of the same minute description, bearing the date of 1218, do not contain this word, and on some of the copper money we shall find it to stand, apparently, for the name of a place, otherwise called New Calicut. GOLD, An. 1216.

MIII.—MIV.

تيپو سلطان *TÍPÛ SULTÁN.*

I. AREA. دين احمد &c. ح اجمدي ضرب پتن GOLD, An. 1217.
سال سراب سنه محمد ۱۲۱۷

Religio laudatissima &c. *H. Ahmedí* (species monetæ), cuditur in *Patan* anno cycli *Sirâb* (43), anno Muhammedis 1217 (1788-9).

II. AREA. As in the preceding silver coins. Anno regni 7.
8 dw. 19 gr.

This is the first specimen that has occurred in the collection of what may be termed the *sultánî* gold *muhr*, to which *Típú* thought proper to give the name of *Ahmedí*. Its weight is greater than the *muhr* of Hindustan, but, on the other hand, it has more alloy. Its value is stated at £1. 12*s.* 3*d.* by Dr. Buchanan. The word سراب, denoting the year of the cycle, signifies 'the undulating refraction of the sun's meridian rays striking on a sandy plain.'

Another of the same denomination, with the year of the era 1218, has equally 7 of the reign, and the year سراب *sirâb* (43) as that of the cycle; which shews, if both of the inscriptions are correct, that the reckonings could not have commenced with the same month.

MV.—MVI.

تيپو سلطان *TÎPÛ SULTÂN.*

GOLD, An. 1217.

I. AREA. فاروقي خورشيد سواد سنه ٧

Farûkî (species monetæ). *Khôrshîd-sûâd.* Anno (regni) 7.

II. AREA. هو السلطان &c. سنه محمد ١٢١٧

Ille est sultanus &c. anno Muham. 1217. 2 dw. 5 gr.

The peculiarity of this *farûkî* or substitute for the pagoda, is the name of *Khôrshîd-súâd*, given by *Tîpû* to one of the cities of his kingdom, instead of its ancient appellation, supposed to be *Darwâr*.

Of this date, 1217, there are also four gold fanams, on three of which we find the word فرخي *farkhî* (as if intended for the denomination of the coin); but on the fourth, only ضرب پتن 'Cuditur in *Patan*.' Their weight is $5\frac{3}{4}$ grains.

MVII.—MX.

تيپو سلطان *TÎPÛ SULTÂN.*

SILVER, An. 1217.

I. AREA. As in the preceding *heiderîs.*

ضرب پتن سال سراب سنه محمد ١٢١٧

Cuditur in *Patan* anno cycli *Sirâb* (43), anno æræ *Muham.* 1217.

II. AREA. As in the preceding. سنه جلوسي ٧

Anno regni 7. 14 dw. 17 gr.

Besides

Besides this *heiderî* or double *sultânî* rupih, which presents nothing particular, there are, of the same year, an امامي *imâmi* or single rupih, weighing 7 dw. 6½ gr., an عابدي *âbidî* or half rupih, 3 dw. 16 gr. and a بقري *bakrî* or quarter rupih, 1 dw. 20 gr. SILVER, An. 1217.

MXI.—MXV.

تيپو سلطان *TÍPÚ SULTÁN.*

I. AREA. As in preceding *ahmedîs.* GOLD, An. 1218.

ضرپتن سال شتا سنه محمد ۱۲۱۸

Cuditur in *Patan* anno cycli *Shitâ* (44). Anno *Muham.* 1218. (1789-90).

II. AREA. As in the preceding. سنه جلوسي ۸

Anno regni 8. 8 dw. 20 gr.

The name of this year of the cycle, شتا , is composed of ش 40, ت 3, and ا 1. The signification of the word is 'winter.'

Of the same year there is a half *ahmedî*, to which is given the name of صديقي *sadîkî*. Its weight is 4 dw. 10 gr. There is also a *fârûkî* struck at *Kôrshîd-súdd*, another at *Patan*, the capital, weighing each 2 dw. 4½ gr.; and three gold fanams struck likewise at the latter place. Of the year 1220 and 10 of the reign, there is a *ferûkî* also from the mint of the capital.

MXVI.

In addition to these Mysore gold coins, there are some of a different description, apparently issued under the authority of *Heider Alî*, but without date. The obverse contains two figures of Hindu deities, intended

tended to represent *Krishna* and his consort *Radha;* the former being vulgarly called *swámí*, signifying 'lord or master.' On the Reverse is the letter ر, the initial of *Heider*.

MXVII.—MXXXII.

The remaining silver coins of this sultan are as follows: of the year 1218, an *imámí* (rupih), an *ábidí* (half rupih), and a *bákrí* (quarter rupih); of 1219 (45th of the cycle, named زبرجد *zabarjad*, a 'chrysolite') an *imámí;* of 1220 (46th of the cycle, named سحر *sahar* 'the dawn,' and 10 of the reign), a *heiderí*, an *imámí* (9 of the reign),[1] an *ábidí*, and a كاظمي *kázmí* or half silver fanam, weighing 11 grains; of 1221, a جعفري *jáfarí* or silver fanam, being the eighth part of a rupih, weighing 22 grains, and a *kázmí*, marked with 11 of the reign; of 1222, a *jáfarí*, 12 of the reign; of 1223, a *jáfarí* and a *kázmí*, 14 of the reign; of 1224, a *bákrí*, 14 also; of 1225, a *jáfarí*, 15 of the reign; and lastly, of 1226, a *kázmí* of the 16th year. Dr. Buchanan (Hamilton) mentions a smaller coin than any of the above, being the thirty second part of the *imámí* or rupih, and named *kizri;* but it has not come under my observation.

MXXXIII.

There is also in the collection a silver medal struck in Paris in the year 1787, on the occasion of receiving ambassadors sent by *Tipú Sultán*

(1) This apparent incongruity of two coins of the same year of the era, the one being marked of the 9th and the other of the 10th of the reign, arises from the former having been struck before, and the latter after, the anniversary day of *Tipú's* accession, or third day of the month *bahárí* in that year.

Sultân to Louis XVI. king of France. As the reading of its inscription, together with the translation, may be found in O. G. Tychsen's Introd. in rem num. Muhammed., p. 226, it is unnecessary to repeat them in this place.

MXXXIV.—MXXXVIII.

تیپو سلطان *TÍPÛ SULTÂN.*

I. Area. Figura elephantis armati. ١٢١٥ 1215. Copper, An. 1215 N. Æ.

II. Area. ضرب فیض حصار

Cuditur in *Feiz Hisâr* (castello abundantiæ).

With this date we enter upon a series of Mysore copper coins of various denominations, but chiefly of the sort or size called پیصه *peisah* or pice, and also *dûdû*, weighing about 177 grains. They are remarkably distinguished by the figure with which they are impressed, being that of an elephant in complete housings, with trunk pendent; but on the double *peisah* it is elevated, as in the act of making *taslîm*, or saluting, which these animals are taught to perform. From their well known strength and sagacity we should be led to conclude that the device was chosen as emblematical of these qualities in the sovereign or his government; but when we advert to the circumstance of its first making its appearance on the coinage at the precise period of his adopting as an epoch the birth of *Muhammed*, and observe that all Arabian writers agree in placing that event in what is termed 'the year of the elephant,' we can scarcely hesitate to believe that an allusion to the name of the year so designated was in the contemplation of this fanciful innovator: nor should it be thought the less probable because some ancient gold coins of Hindu *râjás* (certainly not unknown to *Típú*) exhibit in like manner the figure of an elephant. Originality is rarely complete, and what presents itself as such is often found to be no other than a new combination of borrowed ideas.

This

COPPER, An. 1215 N. Æ.

This coin was struck at a place called *Gúti*, a fortress near the Pennar river, by the sultan named *Feiz Hisár*. Another of the same date is from the mint of *Kalikút* or Calicut, in the province of Malabar.

Of the year 1216 there are specimens of the half *peisah*, coined at *Patan* or Seringapatam, and of the quarter *peisah*, at بنگلور *Bangalúr*, a celebrated fortress in the Mysore country.

Of 1217 there are *peisah* coined at *Nagar* or Bednore; at فرخی *Ferrokhí* or New Calicut; at *Selám-abád* or *Sati-mangalam*; at فرخاب حصار *Ferkhâb hisár*, probably Chitteldroog; and at خورشید سوُد *Khôrshíd súád*, or Darwar.

Of 1218, at *Patan*, *Nagar*, *Ferrokhí*, and *Khôrshíd súád*, and half and quarter *peisah*, at ظفرابادِ *Zafarabád* or *Gurruncondah*; at خالق‌ابادِ *Khálak-abád* (orig. name unknown); and at *Bangalúr*.

Of 1219, a *peisah* coined at *Patan*, the capital.

MXXXIX.—MXLIII.

تیپو سلطان *TÍPÚ SULTÁN.*

COPPER, An. 1221.

I. AREA. Figura elephantis. ۱۲۲۱ مولودي
A Nativitate 1221 (1792-3).

II. AREA. زهره ضرب پتن
Zahrah (species monetæ), cuditur in *Patan*.

Upon this *peisah* we observe the first instance of the word مولودي *múlúdí*, signifying 'of or belonging to the Birth,' applied to the new era, which took its date from the supposed period of the birth of the Prophet, as already explained. For the first time also we find, upon the same piece, the word زهره *Zahrah*, being the name given by *Típú* to this species of copper coin, which in Dr. Buchanan's table (vol. i. p. 128) is written *jora*; perhaps according to the vulgar pronunciation of the first consonant in the Mysore country.

country. The old denominations of *peisah* and *dûdû* continued, however, to be more generally used. COPPER, An. 1221.

Of the year 1222 we find a *peisah*, the brief inscription of which, in other respects like the preceding, contains the more precise expression of مولودي محمد *múlúdî muhammed* 'a nativitate Muhammedis.' There is also one of the same kind struck at *Nagar*, on the Reverse of which the name of the coin is written زهرا *zahrâ*, 'bright,' (and so on all the subsequent pieces of that mint) instead of زهره *zuhrah* 'the planet Venus.' On a quarter *peisah* of the same year the name of آختر *ákhter* is introduced, to denote that species of small copper money.

Of 1223 there is a half *peisah* or *dub* from the mint of the capital, on which appears the denomination of بهرام *behrâm*.

Upon the *peisah* of 1224 we observe a new mark of distinction, being the letter ا placed over the figure of the elephant; and upon those of succeeding years will be found the letters ب, ت, and ث. The object of these is not apparent, but they may perhaps have reference to the system of depreciation which the coinage in some parts of India is liable to after the lapse of the current year.(1) The coins of 1224 are numerous, from the mints of *Patan* and *Nagar*, and generally express the word مولودي.

(1) "The value of the different coins was frequently changed by the late sultan in a very arbitrary and oppressive manner. When he was about to pay his troops, the nominal value of each coin was raised very high, and kept at that standard for about ten days; during which time the soldiery were allowed to pay off their debts at the high valuation. After this, the standard was reduced to the proper value." Buchanan, Journey to Mysore, vol. I. p. 129.

MXLIV.—MXLVII.

تيپو سلطان *TÍPÚ SULTÁN.*

COPPER, An. 1225.

I. AREA. Figura elephantis armati vexillum gerentis literâ ب signatum.

II. AREA. مشربي ضرب دار السلطنة پتن
سنه مولودي ۱۲۲۵

Mashrabî (s. *mushtarî*, species monetæ) cuditur in sede regia *Patan*, anno à nativitate (Muhamm.) 1225 (1797).

The name of the double *peisah*, here written مشربي *mashrabî*, appears on a specimen of the year 1224 (not in this collection) to be مشتري *mushtarî;* but on another, of 1218, the name of the coin is عثماني *osmânî* or *othmânî*, and there the trunk of the beast is elevated, as if in the act of making a *taslîm* or *salâm*. The flags also are different, the latter having in the centre a star, instead of a letter of the alphabet as in my specimen. Of this date there are also single *peisahs* coined at *Patan* and *Nagar*, and an *akhter* or quarter *peisah* at *Patan*, marked with the letter ب.

Of the year 1226 there is a *peisah* struck at *Nagar*, and an *akhter* or quarter *peisah*, at *Patan;* both of which have the letter ت. A *peisah* or *zahrâ* of 1227, from the mint of *Nagar* or Bednore, has in like manner a ث, the fourth and last letter of the word ابتث given by the sultan as a name to his numerical system, on which he appears to have wasted no small share of ingenuity.

This is probably the latest specimen of his coinage that has been preserved, and must have been struck within about a month of his death; the year 1227 of his era having begun on the 6th of April 1799, and the storming of Seringapatam, on which occasion he fell, having happened on the 4th of May of that year, being the anniversary of his accession.

MXLVIII.

MXLVIII.—MXLIX.

In addition to the foregoing specimens it is proper to notice the following small copper pieces: a minute coin intended for a half *akhter* or eighth part of a *peisah*, on one side of which is the elephant, with the letter ت, and on the other, the denomination of the money, being a word that may be read قطيب *katíb*, but is by no means distinct: a second is of an octagonal form, having on one side the word نواب *nawâb*, with some additional characters not legible, and on the other, نهتر نگر as the name of the place, with the date 1207: and a third, having the figure of a lion or a tiger on one side, and a battle-axe on the other; but without date. The latter two seem to have been pattern-pieces of coins that did not afterwards become a part of the currency.

ANCIENT *HINDÚ.*

A number of these gold coins with figures, amounting, it is said, to upwards of two hundred, were accidentally discovered, about the year 1783, at a place name *Kâli-gât*, on the eastern bank of the *Hûgli* river, ten miles above Calcutta. They were contained in a brass pot, much corroded, which the washing away of the soil brought to light, and were carried by the finder (*Nâb-Kishen*) to Mr. Hastings, then Governor of Bengal. By him the greater part were transmitted to the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, with his request that they might be distributed amongst the most eminent public and private collections. Twenty four were accordingly sent to the British Museum, nearly an equal number to the Museum of the late Dr. William Hunter, and some to distinguished individuals; but a proportion remained at the East-India House, where they now form a part of the rich oriental collection under the superintendence of Mr. Charles Wilkins. Of the ten specimens (besides one of a doubtful character) which my own collection boasts, the greater number have been purchased from time to time as they happened to present themselves, and for two or three of them I am indebted to the kindness of friends.

A strong degree of similarity, with a few marked exceptions, prevails amongst the devices of these coins; the Obverses (ascertained by the commencement of the short inscriptions) generally presenting the figure of a female deity, seated in the usual oriental manner, and the Reverses that of a *râjâ* in a warlike attitude. Some learned antiquaries think they discover in them the evidences of a Greek origin;[1] but on this point I do not see enough to justify an opinion, and shall refrain from conjecture; cherishing

(1) In a paper by the late Mr. Payne Knight, read at the Society of Antiquaries April 18th 1822, they are spoken of as imitations of certain Greek coins.

cherishing the hope that future discoveries of Indian medals may throw a light upon the subject, which is in itself of the highest interest.

ML.

The female figure is here, as on nearly all the specimens, a representation of the goddess *Lakshmi*, seated on a bed of the lotos flower. In her left hand she holds a branch of some vegetable, as the type of production and plenty, equivalent to the cornucopia; in her left, the *pâsa* or cord with a noose, by some considered as the emblem of restraint. Over the left arm we perceive the *kaushtabha* or jewel, one of the fourteen precious things raised from churning the ocean.(1) In the margin on that side are the words श्री विक्रम *Srî Vîkrama*.

The reverse exhibits a whole-length regal figure, clad in armour, and having the head surrounded with a nimbus. In the attitude of the body there is a peculiar curvature. The left hand grasps, and the arm is supported by an upright bow. The right hand holds an arrow, and behind that arm is a tall standard, which bears much resemblance to the Roman eagle, with the wings displayed. In the whole we cannot but observe a striking dissimilarity to the modern Hindu costume. Under the left arm is the word चन्द्र *Chandra*, but with the characters disposed perpendicularly, in the Chinese and Tartar manner. 5 dw. $4\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

In the lists of Hindu kings of upper and central India, collected from the native historians by Tieffenthaler and Anquetil,(2) we find the name of *Bikram-tschand (Vikrama Chandra)*, the son of *Telouk-tschand*, who appears to have reigned, according to the one list, four hundred and thirty five, and to the other three hundred and eighty three years after *Bikermadjit (Vikramaditya)*, and consequently in the fourth century of the Christian era; but as it is afterwards stated that *Ram-tschand*, who died

(1) See the *Bhagvat-gîta*, translated by Wilkins, p. 148.

(2) Bernoulli, Description de l'Inde, t. I. p. 153. and t. II. p. xxxxi.

died only fifteen years later, was the cotemporary of the Arabian Prophet, whose birth is placed in 571, and of *Anûshirvan*, king of Persia, whose reign ended in 579, and as this fact is more likely to be correct than either of the other computations, we must fix that of *Vikrama-Chandra* two centuries later, or about the latter part of the sixth.

The authority of the lists is certainly much diminished by the differences that present themselves in the duration of the respective reigns, but as they agree in the succession of princes, and the variations in the orthography of names is not considerable, we may not unreasonably presume that the sovereign of India by whom this and several more of the coins appear to have been struck, and whose title occurs but once, is the *Bikramtschand* of the lists, in the corrupt mode of writing Sanskrit words in the Persian characters.

MLI.

In this specimen the figures are nearly the same as the preceding, but the words on the female side are श्री विक्रमादित्य *Srí Vikramáditya.* On the male side is *Chandra*, as before. 6 dw. 4 gr.

MLII.—MLIV.

Figures nearly the same; impression indifferent, and inscriptions illegible. 6 dw. 3 gr. 6 dw. $3\frac{1}{2}$ gr. 6 dw. $2\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

MLV.

Figures nearly the same. On female side the letters . . क्रमादित्य . . *kramaditiya;* on the other, inscription illegible. (With ring) 6 dw. 6 gr.

MLVI.

MLVI.

Figures nearly the same. On female side the characters appear to be श्री देव . . . *Sri Dêv* . . . although not distinct. On male side, under the left arm, चन्द्र *Chandra.* 6 dw. $0\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

MLVII.

The female figure *(Lakshmi)* seated on a throne, with the *pâsa* in her right, and cornucopia in her left hand. Near her right shoulder is the *kaushtabha* or jewel of *Vishnu.* The characters on that side are not legible. On the right arm of the male figure hangs his bow, near the string of which appears the word *Chandra* written perpendicularly. Some characters (probably *Sri Vikrama*) on the opposite side are not equally legible. 4 dw. 22 gr.

MLVIII.

Female figure seated on a throne, as in the preceding. Inscription on that side not legible. The male figure, in armour, as the rest, is accompanied by and appears by his action to address himself to an erect female figure, clad in thin drapery, with a nimbus about the head, denoting her also to be a royal personage. The characters of the word *Chandra,* under the left arm of the former, are written perpendicularly. There appear a few others parallel to these, but they are not legible. The coin was brought from India by Lord Valentia (Mountnorris). 4 dw. 19 gr.

MLIX.

MLIX.

On this coin the female figure of the Obverse, in a state of nudity, with a nimbus round the head, is seated in a posture different from any of the preceding, and is employed in feeding a large bird of the stork kind from what seems to be a bunch of plantains. On the Reverse is an equestrian figure, the design of which has considerable merit, and particularly in the action of the horse. The marginal inscriptions, from being imperfectly engraved, are not legible. 5 dw. 5½ gr.

MLX.

This coin is avowedly of modern fabrication, but is deserving of attention inasmuch as it must have have been imitated from an existing original. It was given to me by the late Sir John Anstruther, on his return from Bengal, and by him it was understood to have been executed under the direction of Mr. Peter Speke, as a curious specimen of Hindu art. The female figure is, from her emblems, the goddess *Sivâni* (another form of *Lakshmi* and *Bhavâni*), standing erect and holding in one hand the *pâsa* and in the other the *trisul.* Behind her appears a well depicted Indian bull, the *monture* and usual attendant of her husband, *Siva.* Near the margin there are four distinct but perhaps ill-copied characters that have little resemblance to *nagri*, and as little to Greek capitals, for which they are by some supposed to be intended.

The male accoutred figure on the opposite side bears a general likeness to the greater number of those which precede. They differ, however, in the attitude, being here as stiff and perpendicular as in the others it is curved. His head is adorned with a tiara or crown; the left arm is supported by the *trisul*, and the right is extended downwards, as if in the act of pouring liquid from a vessel upon a low altar. 5 dw. 7½ gr.

Another

Another class of ancient Hindu gold medals is distinguished by the peculiarity of being concave, and to this form they owe the preservation of many embossed figures with which they are ornamented. On the convex side the figures appear to have been represented by an engraved outline only. Of these the collection possesses five specimens, and in that of the East-India Company there are two. Elsewhere in Europe I am not aware of their existence, and even in India they are said to be of extreme rarity. One or two belonging to the *rájá* of Tanjore are esteemed by him both as important curiosities and as objects of religious veneration.(1) In the southern part of India, to which country they evidently belong, they have obtained the appellation of *Râma-tangka*, or money of *Râma-Chandra*, from the figures that will be hereafter described, and are believed to have been coined by that hero or demi-god, at the island of *Ramisseram*.

MLXI.

The figures on the concave side of the coin represent *Râma-Chandra*, the conqueror of the island of *Langká* (by the Persians named سيلان *Sélân* and by us Ceylon), seated in a highly ornamented chair of state, with *Sîtá*, his beloved consort, on his left knee. Of four attendant figures on that side, the one nearest to the throne supports the royal umbrella, and of three on the right hand side, the middle figure is employed in the management of the *chauri* or cow-tail-whisk, equally a part of the insignia of royalty. The third or most distant figure is evidently one of the monkey tribe, and may be supposed to represent *Sugriva*, a distinguished character in the poem of the *Rámâyana*. At the bottom, or foot of the throne, inclining on one knee, with his tail erect, we perceive the still more interesting personage,

(1) "Not more than half a dozen of these hollowed coins were, I think," says the author of the Hindu Pantheon "found in *Sriringapatan*, and I never heard of any other." P. 434. An engraving of one is given in Pl. 104, n. 10. of that work.

sonage, *Hanumân*, who holds in one of his paws something that has the appearance of a flower.(1)

On the Reverse or convex side, within a circle, there are two equilateral triangles crossing each other and by their intersections producing twelve small angular compartments, in each of which is an unknown character that may perhaps denote a sign of the Zodiac, and the whole exhibits the appearance of a horoscope. Between two outer circles there runs an inscription in characters, partially defaced, that have the resemblance of ancient *nâgri*, and may admit of being read, श्री . . . . नारायण पाल: *Srî . . . . Nârâyana Pâla.* Weight 7 dw. $16\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

MLXII.

In this specimen the figures that compose the *durbar* or court of *Râma* are entirely similar in their arrangement to the preceding. At the bottom of the throne, however, or in that part which was occupied by the figure of *Hanumân*, and constituting what is technically named the exergue, we find ancient *nâgri* characters that seem to express the word नारायण *Nârâyana.*

On the convex side the disposition of the triangles is the same, and there are similar characters in the twelve compartments, but in the centre *Hanumân*

(1) The character of *Hanumân* is as important in the story of the *Râmâyana* as that of Sancho Panza in the romance of Don Quixote. A translation into English of a part of this celebrated poem has been executed at Calcutta with great fidelity, but notwithstanding its merits, the work has attracted little notice. To render it popular, and to place it on a footing with the Arabian tales, it must be divested of many obscure recitals of mythological genealogy, not essentially connected with the plot, as well as of unnecessary repetitions; by which its superabundant length would be advantageously diminished. Of the effect of this kind of retrenchment I am enabled to judge from having long since perused it, with great delight, in a Malayan abridged translation, where its peculiar features were well preserved, and especially the humour that attends the attributing to individuals of the monkey race, who accompanied *Râma* in his adventures, the talents of consummate warriors and the wisdom and gravity of profound statesmen, without entirely divesting them of their natural manners and propensities.

Hanumân appears, in the attitude styled rampant, with a flower in one paw and a crown on his head. Wt. 6 dw. 11 gr.

MLXIII.

This is nearly a duplicate of 2, with the exception of having four male figures on the right hand side of *Râma*, with three only (besides *Sîtâ*) on the left, of which the third or most distant is very imperfect. It is in worse preservation than the others, and the convex side is nearly worn smooth. Wt. 6 dw. 22½ gr.

MLXIV.

The figures embossed on the concave side of this specimen are more perfect and at the same time less numerous than on any of the others, and there is a difference in their arrangement. *Sîtâ* appears on the right instead of the left side of *Râma*, and is seated, not on his knee, but near him on the throne. On his left there are only two attendants, the one holding the umbrella and the other the *chauri*. On the female side there is but one figure. Lamps are suspended from the ceiling of the apartment. On the exergue there are characters resembling those of the Tamul or the *grantham* language, but in the explanation of which I have not succeeded; though from analogy we may presume them to be the name of *Nârâyana*.

The Reverse exhibits simply a figure of *Hanumân*, within a square border. It is remarkable that this, although the largest of the coins, is the lightest in weight, being only 6 dw. 6 gr.

MLXV.

This last specimen differs in some respects from those already described. *Sîtâ* is here seated near *Râma*, to the left, and of the three attendants on

that side, the *chauri*-bearer is the next to the throne, and the person who supports the umbrella, in the middle. On the right there are also three figures, one (at least) of whom appears to be furnished with a conspicuous tail, and to be in the act of making *salâm* and presenting an offering. At the foot of *Râma* we discover a diminutive figure of *Hanumân*, in a crouching posture. On the exergue there are characters rudely formed that have some resemblance to *nâgri*, but are not legible.

The Reverse contains an upright figure of *Hanumân*, with some characters on the exergue that cannot be deciphered. Its weight, in a state of much deterioration, is 6 dw. 17 gr. One of these was given to me by Mr. B. Torin, and four have been purchased at different times.

MLXVI.—LXVIII.

To the class of ancient Hindu must also be referred two small copper coins that were found in the palace of the king of *Kandi*, in the island of Ceylon. On each side of them is a rude and disproportioned outline of a human figure, scarcely distinguishable on that which may be termed the Reverse, but accompanied by *nâgrî* characters probably expressing the names of the *râjâs* by whom they were respectively struck :

N. 1.	मया *Mayá*	N. 2.	वि ज *Vi ja*
	द्य *daya*		य ग *ya ga*
	मल्ल *malla*		द *da*

These were given to me by Lord Valentia (Mountnorris), and at the same time a third, of copper, said to have been discovered in the ruins of the city of *Kanauj*, and supposed to have been struck by the *râjâ* who founded *Dehli*. Its inscription, occupying both sides, expresses the name of श्री राजा शिव *Srí Râjá Siva* छत्रपति *Ch'atra-pati*, which I am unable to identify in any list. The city of *Dehli*, according to the *Ayin Akbari*, was built by a prince named *Anungpâl*.

SOUTH

SOUTH OF INDIA.

THE country lying to the southward of the Kistnah river, or what, in conjunction with the Dekkan, is commonly termed the Peninsula of India, has been subject, from the earliest period, to a diversity of native and foreign princes, whose extent of dominion and degree of independence have fluctuated with the political circumstances of the times, but all of whom appear to have exercised the right of coining money. In consequence of this, its variety is endless, and being always without date and most commonly without inscription, although impressed with rude mythological figures, its due discrimination becomes a matter of extreme difficulty, and all that can be here attempted is to notice the more obvious and remarkable distinctions.

The gold coins of a relatively larger size are denominated هون *hûn*, *varâha*, or *varâhûn*, and vulgarly pagodas.(1) The weight of the better sorts is found to be 53 grains, and as this is also the weight of the sequin or gold ducat, we may infer that, notwithstanding the difference in their shape and appearance, the one has been the prototype of the other.(2) The gold coins of a minute size, weighing commonly from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 grains, are denominated fanams, or, more properly *panam*:(3) but this name is also

(1) The word *hûn* is said to be the *Kanari* term for gold, and the plunder of the Karnatik by the *mussulmâns*, in the beginning of the fourteenth century of our era (as observed by Col. Wilks) carried with it this name throughout Hindustan, to the plains of Tartary. "*Varâha*, the boar, one of the incarnations of Vishnou (the same historian observes) was the emblem which the rajas of Vijeyanuggur adopted as the impression on their gold coins, and the coin itself *was* and *is* named *varâha* in consequence, in the Hindoo languages of the south." Historical Sketches of the South of India, vol. i. p. 492.

(2) The Turkish *funduk* is avowedly the representative of the Venetian sequin, which (as noticed at page 372) formerly 'constituted the mostgeneral currency of Western Asia.'

(3) *Panam* is from the Sanskrit पण *pana*, denoting a certain number of cowries, with the neutral termination *am*, which, in the south of India, is universally applied to nouns adopted from that language.

also applied to small silver coins weighing about 15 grains, and of which there are double and treble pieces. According to Buchanan (Hamilton) the gold fanam is usually estimated as the twelfth part of a pagoda, but in all those which I have compared the proportion of weight is as one to nine. The difference must arise from a superior degree of fineness in the larger coin.

MLXIX.

This ancient *hún*, of something more than the usual size and weight, having on one side the figure of an elephant, in rich housings, and on the other only an ornamental scroll, is said to be known by the appellation of *gaj-pati*, and to have been the coinage of the *râjâs* of *Anagundi*, a city of *Karnâta*, near the site of which was afterwards built another city of great celebrity, named *Vijáya-nagara* or *Bîja-nagur*.(1) Engravings of the coin are given in Moor's Hindu Pantheon, pl. 104. In this collection there are six specimens, weighing each about 2 dw. 12½ grs.

MLXX.

On one side of this coin is the figure of the goddess *Durgá* (another form of *Bhavâni* the consort of *Sîva*) seated in the usual manner; from whence it has obtained the name of the *Durgî hún* or pagoda. On the Reverse appears the following inscription in *nâgri* characters: श्री प्रताप कृष्णराय *Srî Pratâpa Krishna râya*, and from this name I was led

(1) An account of the subjugation of the descendants of these princes, by *Heider* and *Tîpû*, will be found in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1804, under the head of characters, p. 24, where the '*Gaja-putty*' *râjâs* are also incidentally noticed.

led to suppose it struck by the Mysore *râjâ Krishna* or *Kistnah* whom *Heider Ali* subdued and kept in confinement; but it is positively asserted, by Buchanan that the former princes of Mysore never coined money of a larger denomination than fanams, and we must therefore consider these specimens as *Ikeri hûns* or pagodas, being the money generally current in *Heider's* dominions, previously to his own coinage, which will be hereafter described. The *Kanter'raya* or *Cantery* pagoda, so named from *Kanterava Narsa* or *Narsingha râya*, a former Hindu prince of Mysore, is only an imaginary money, by reference to which the different species of currency are estimated. The weight of these *Ikeri hûns* is 2 dw. 3 gr. A quarter *hûn*, with a similar figure and inscription, weighs 13 grs.

MLXXI.

The difference between this and the preceding coin is chiefly in the style of dress of the female figure or deity, and as the name of *Srî Pratâpa Krishna* is equally found on it, we must presume it to belong to the same *Ikeri râjâ*. The weight is 2 dw. 3½ gr., and that of a half-pagoda, 1 dw. 2 grs.

MLXXII.

This, denominated the *Krishna râjâ hûn*, is distinguished from the foregoing by having the figures of two deities (or *swâmîs* as they are termed), being those of *Siva* with his consort, and on the opposite side, by the words *Sri Khrishna râjâ* (omitting that of *Pratâpa*), which is the name of the young Mysore prince, whom, upon the conquest of Seringapatam (*Sri-Rangapatnam*) and overthrow of the mussulman government, the English seated on the throne from which his family had been excluded.

cluded.(1) Its appearance also has the freshness of recent coinage, and its weight is 2 dw. 5 grs.

MLXXIII.

On these coins there is only a single figure, being that of *Vishnu*. The Reverse has the following inscription: श्री वेंकटेश्वराय नमः *Sri Vêngkadêswarâya Namah* 'to the illustrious lord *Vêngkada*,' which last is one of the titles of *Krishna*, and very frequently occurs as the proper name of men; but in this instance the individual prince is unknown.(2) An obvious resemblance may be perceived between these and Nos. 7 and 8 of Tavernier's Pl. which he attributes to a *râjâ* of *Velouche*, probably a corruption of *Vellore*. The weight is 2 dw. $3\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

MLXXIV.

The inscription on this *hûn* bearing the double figure of *Siva* and *Parvati*, shews it to have been struck by a female sovereign whose title was श्री सदा सिवा *Sri Sadâ-Sivâ*, the sex being denoted by the long *â* of the last syllable. In the account of this family, however, as given by Buchanan (vol. III. p. 254), we do not read of a princess so called. *Sedâsiva* is there described as a chief who by supernatural means became *râjâ* of *Ikeri*, from whom descended a queen named *Viru Magi*, whose kingdom and person fell into the hands of Hyder. It is possible at the same time

(1) "On the fall of *Tippoo* (says Buchanan) the Mysore government, having found it convenient to coin pagodas of the same value with those before current, struck them at Mysore and *Nagara*, but restored the old name of *Ikeri*." Journey through Mysore &c. Vol. III. p. 258.

(2) The name will be met with in the historical paper mentioned in note (1) p. 736.

time that this female may have affected on her coinage a patronymic or title derived from her ancestor, and to be styled *Sadâsivâ* with the feminine termination.

MLXXV.

On this double *swâmî* pagoda the inscription is imperfect, having only the characters श्री . . . पराज . . *Srî . . pa raj . .* 2 dw. 4½ gr.

MLXXVI.

Chandra-gîri or Chandergherry, which gives name to these *hûns*, is a town in the Karnatik, formerly the capital of what was called by our early travellers the kingdom of *Narsingha*, in consequence of its having been rendered a place of great strength by *Narsingha râjâ* of *Vijaya-nagara*. After the conquest of the latter city by the mahometan states of the peninsula, in the sixteenth century, a descendant of *Narsingha* transferred the seat of Hindu government to *Chandra-gîri*, from whence the last of the race was expelled in 1646. It was from one of these *râjâs* that the English E. Ind. Company purchased, in the year 1620, the spot of ground on which stood the old fort and factory of Madras, now inclosed within the works of Fort St. George, together with the privilege of coining money, under the stipulation that the English should not fail to preserve on their coinage the representation of that deity who was the favourite object of his worship.

One of the specimens (given to me by my friend Mr. D. Haliburton, formerly of that establishment) was found, with several others, upon taking down an old wall at the place, and pronounced by the shroffs or money-dealers to be a coin of the *rayels* of *Chandra-gîri*, sovereigns of the *Karnatik*. No information, however, is conveyed by the impressions.

The female figure on the Obverse appears to be that of *Lakshmi.* The Reverse, which was granulated (as in the modern pagodas of Madras), is worn nearly smooth. The weight is 2 dw. 5 grs. There are other specimens precisely resembling this as to the Reverse, which have three erect figures (a male accompanied by two females) on the Obverse, whose costume denotes them to be mortal rather than divine personages. These are vulgarly termed three-*swâmî* pagodas, and weigh 2 dw. 4½ gr. In Tavernier's Plate nos. 5 and 6 are imperfect representations of them, under the name of the *râja* of Carnatica's pagoda.

MLXXVII.

Hûns of *Vijaya-pûra, Bijapûr* or Visiapoor, a celebrated city of the Dekan, exhibit, instead of figures, emblems of which the signification is entirely unknown. They have the appearance of considerable antiquity, and as it was in the year 895–1489 that sultan *Yûsuf Adil Shâh,* the first prince of the dynasty that bears his name, established himself in that city, which for some time previous had belonged to another mussulman dynasty, it is fair to presume that these must have been struck by one of the Hindu princes who reigned there at an antecedent period. Their weight is 2 dw. 3 gr. In Tavernier's Plate a similar pagoda will be found.

MLXXVIII.

Half-pagodas of the *Kolastri* or *Cherical râja,* in the province of Malabar, have a rude *swâmî* in a sitting posture on one side, with the Reverse convex and quite plain. Their weight is 1 dw. 2 grs.

MLXXIX.

MLXXIX.

In this place it may be proper to notice some gold coins which, although bearing Persian inscriptions, seem from their size and shape to belong to this class. Two of them, weighing 2 dw. 3 gr. and 1 dw. 18 gr. may be considered as *húns* or pagodas, and the third, 1 dw. 1½ gr., as a half pagoda. On one of them we find the words ... ۹۴ سکه محمد شاه ضرب کوتي 'moneta *Muhammed Shâh* . . . 94 : cuditur in *Gûti*,' but the century being deficient in the date, it is difficult to ascertain the dynasty, amongst those of the Dekan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to which the coin should be attributed.(1) The fortress where it was struck is in the *Bala-ghât* or ancient Karnata, and as this place was not in the possession of the Moghul emperor *Muhammed Shâh*, the money could not be of his coinage.(2) It may perhaps have been that of *Muhammed Adil Shâh* of *Bijapûr*, who died in 1071-1660.

MLXXX.

Feringi or Porto-novo *húns*, having on one side three figures (one male and two females), and on the other a merely granulated surface, were probably first coined under the influence of the Portuguese soon after their arrival on this coast; but from the fresh appearance of the specimens in the collection it may be inferred that the coinage has been continued by the Netherlanders, their successors in the establishment at Porto-novo, up to the period of its cession to the English. Their weight is 2 dw. 5 grs.

MLXXXI.

(1) *Ferishtah* (as translated by Scott) informs us that about the early part of the sixteenth century, "Dekkan was divided into five kingdoms; Adil Shawee or Beejapore, Koottub Shawee or Golconda, Ummaud Shawee or Berar, Nizam Shawee or Ahmednuggur, and Bereed or Ahmedabad Bieder." Vol. I. p. 204.

(2) In a list of coins preserved in the Mint at Calcutta there appear, amongst those of the peninsula, old and new *Muhammed Shâhi* pagodas.

MLXXXI.

Star pagodas of Madras have one male figure, *swámí*, or deity. Their Reverse is distinguished from others having a granulated, convex surface, by a star in the centre. According to Buchanan they are termed Company *varâha* or *Puli varâha*, in *Karnata*, and by the mussulmans, Companyka *hún*. Their weight is 2 dw. 4½ grs. In the degree of fineness these, and still more the Porto-novo, are inferior to the *Ikeri hûns*.

MLXXXII.

The *Bahâduri hún* is that which was coined by *Heider Ali* subsequently to the conquest of the Mysore and *Ikeri râjâs*. On one side are the figures of *Siva* (denoted by the *trisûla*) and his consort *Pârvati*. The Reverse is remarkable in having, on a granulated but not convex ground, as a device, the Arabic character ح *h*, being the initial letter of the name of حيدر *Heider*.(1) Its weight is 2 dw. 5 grs. A half *bahâdurî hún*, with a single figure, weighs 1 dw. 2½ grs.

MLXXXIII.—MLXXXIV.

This *hún* which is named by Sonnerat 'pagode ancienne d'Arcate,' has three figures on the Obverse, like those of Porto-novo and some of *Chandra-*

(1) Buchanan observes that "so long as the *Sivabhactar* family lasted, the coins continued to be called *Ikeri* pagodas and fanams. On the conquest the name was changed, first by Hyder into *Bahadury*, and then by Tippoo into *Sultany*." Vol. III. p. 257. The letter ح was continued by the latter on his early coinage, until he adopted an entirely new system.

Chandra-gîri. The ground of the Reverse is granulated, but contains the Arabic letter ع, which may perhaps have been adopted by *Muhammed Ali*, commonly styled the Nabob of Arcot, in imitation of the practice of his political antagonist; ع being the initial letter of علي *Alî*, as ح is of *Heider*; and this conjecture is strengthened by the corrupted name of '*Saubdalli* pagodas' that originally accompanied the specimens. Its weight is 2 dw. $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs. Another pagoda, and the last that requires notice, has a single *swâmî* on one side, and on the other, in the centre of the granulated surface, a small half-moon (if not intended for the letter C), with the purport of which I am unacquainted. Its weight is 2 dw. $4\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

The smaller denomination of gold, and also of silver coins, is the *panam*, *falam*, or *fanam*, of which there is an almost endless variety. Those found in the collection and principally deserving of remark are:

MLXXXV.

The *Kanter'râya fanam*, so named from *Kanterava Narsa* or *Narsingha*, the first Mysore *râja* who acquired considerable power, but who did not strike any larger coin. It has on one side a minute and ill-formed figure or *swâmî*, and on the other, imperfect characters, of which two small circles between lines are the most distinguishable features. Their weight is generally 6 grs., but one among them weighs 8 grs.

MLXXXVI.

Vir'râya fanams, the coinage of the *Kûrg râjâ*, who was subdued and imprisoned by *Heider*, have on their Obverse the outline of what is intended for a *swâmî*, and on the other side the representation of a small piece

piece of ordnance called a *janjâl*, with several accompanying dots that may be meant for a pile of balls. They are chiefly current in the south-western provinces, and particularly at Mangalore and Kalicut on the Malabar coast, where all other coins are reduced to their value as a standard. Their weight is 6 grs. A *Vir'râya sombray* (the latter word probably corrupted) differs from the common *Vir'râya* fanam in having a larger surface, and, on the Reverse, a more conspicuous rest to the wall-piece. The weight is the same.

MLXXXVII.

Silver *Vir'râya* or Mangalore fanams, with the same impressions, and weighing $5\frac{2}{3}$ grains, are not mentioned by Buchanan in his account of the coinage of the peninsula. They must be equally considered as belonging to the *Kûrg râjâ*. With similar devices, on a larger scale, there is a copper *dudu*, *dub*, or *peisa*, weighing 7 dw. 14 grs.

MLXXXVIII.

Bahâduri Vir'râya gold fanams, coined by *Heider* subsequently to the conquest of the *Kûrg* country, have the same rude figure of a *swâmî*, but on the Reverse present the Arabic letter ح, as already noticed on the *hûns* or pagodas of that mussulman chief, who affected the title of *Bahâdur* or warrior. They weigh 6 grains.

Anjengo silver fanams have much resemblance to the *Mangalore*, and appear as such in n. 10 of Sonnerat's Pl. They are thick in proportion to their surface, and weigh 6 grs.

The *Ikeri* fanam, coined by a Hindu *râjâ* before the *Karnata* or *Kanari* country lost its independence, has on one side minute figures of *Siva* and *Pârvati*, and on the other, a few *nâgri* characters. Wt. $5\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

MLXXXIX.

MLXXXIX.

Bahâduri-Ikeri fanams, resembling the preceding in respect to the figures, have on their Reverse the letter ಕ, or emblem of Heider's domination. Wt. 6 grs.

MXC.

Fanams that appear in the list that accompanied them by the name of '*Kuttari* or *Kuttandri*', exhibit what scarcely merits to be considered as the designation of a *swâmî*, and on the Reverse an Indian dagger. Wt. $5\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

MXCI.

Alingîri fanams have their Obverse slightly concave, and impressed with the outline of a *swâmî*. The Reverse is highly convex, like a cap, and quite smooth. The names of this and of the preceding place (supposed to be in the province of *Arkat*) are equally unknown to me. Wt. $5\frac{1}{4}$ grs. Others with the same smooth convexity have on the concave side the appearance of Persian characters, and correspond with no. 16 of Sonnerat's Pl.

MXCII.

Tanjore fanams have a *swâmî* on the concave side, and on the convex, double lines crossing each other at right angles. Wt. $5\frac{1}{4}$ grs.

MXCIII.

MXCIII.

Madura fanams nearly resemble the preceding, but the lines on the convex side intersect less regularly, and are accompanied by two minute circles. They correspond with no. 12 of Sonnerat's Pl. Wt. 5¼ grs.

MXCIV.

An *Arni* fanam has the outline of a *swámí* in the concave, with the convex side plain, and corresponds with n. 13 and 17 of Sonnerat's Pl. Wt. 5¼ grs.

MXCV.

A fanam of *Negapatam* has on one side the outline of a *swámí*, and on the other, several lines at right angles with, but not crossing each other. It appears to be the n. 7. of Sonnerat's Pl. Wt. 5½ grs.

MXCVI.

The *Tennivelli* or *Koili* fanams, current from the Koleroon river to the southern extremity of the Peninsula, are thin and flat, with impressions that have too little apparent meaning to admit of description. Wt. 5½ grs. with much alloy.

MXCVII.

MXCVII.

Nandi or *Nundi* fanams are thick in proportion to their very small surface. On each side are illegible characters, without a *swâmî* or other figure. The place where they are chiefly current is unknown to me, the name denoting only the mythological bull of *Siva*. Wt. $5\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

MXCVIII.

Suberau fanams have on one side a figure bearing some resemblance to a viper, with the head large in proportion, and a minute star and circle in the curvature of the tail. On the opposite side are a few *nagri* letters, In the province of Kutch there is a town called *Subroy*, but this small coin must take its name from some place in the south. Wt. $5\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

MXCIX.

Tripati, *Tripitti*, or *Tirupadi* fanams take their name from a place in the *Karnatik*, where there is a temple of peculiar sanctity. On its flat side there is a mark resembling an arrow-head. The convex side, of a single specimen, is worn smooth. Wt. $5\frac{1}{2}$ grs., much alloyed.

MC.

Pachagi fanams (so denominated in the paper that accompanied them) have neither *swâmî* nor legible characters, but on one side are several pointed lines like the prongs of a fork. It is supposed that the name may be a corruption of *panch-gadâ*. Wt. $5\frac{1}{4}$ grs.

MCI.

Paliakata or *Pullicat* fanams have also unintelligible characters or figures, not unlike those on no. 8 of Sonnerat's Pl. Wt. $5\frac{1}{2}$ grs.

MCII.

A *Kankani* fanam, probably coined in the mussulman city of *Bîja-pûr*, under the *Adil-shâhi* dynasty, has on one side the word كنكني *kankani*, and on the other فالم *fâlam* for *panam* or fanam. Wt. 5 grs.

MCIII.

There are also some thin and very light bits of gold, seven of which weigh only 16 grs., that may have been intended for ostentatious, but economical distribution, on certain festivals.

MCIV.

Of this class it remains only to notice the silver fanams coined under the authority of European states. With the marks of the English East-India Company, expressed in different forms, but generally by the letters CCE. or an inverted c crossing another, there are single fanams weighing from 14 to 16 grs. Some amongst these have a *swâmî* representing Vishnu, and others, with the date of 1714, a *singha* or mythological lion, having the claws of a dragon. The double fanam pieces, weighing from 1 dw. 5 gr.

5 gr. to 1 dw. 8 gr., have also a figure of Vishnu. The treble fanams, weighing from 1 dw. 16 gr. to 2 dw. 3 gr., have on one side the initial letters CCE, and on the other, illegible characters having some resemblance to Arabic, which are found also on many of the smaller denominations.

MCV.

There are also French silver pieces of nearly corresponding weights, coined at Pondicherry, with the representation of a crown on one side and three fleurs de lis on the other; and lastly, Danish single and double fanams, with dates from 1773 to 1789, having on one side the arms of the kingdom, with the word ROVALIHER, and on the Reverse a monogram of Christian the Seventh.

MCVI.

Of the European as well as some of the native powers there are also *peisa*, pice, or dubs, frequently termed copper-cash, which it is not thought necessary to particularise further than by observing that some of the English (coined during the reign of William and Mary) have the words 'Regis et reginæ Angliæ,' and others, 'Bombay pice;' that the French have the denomination expressed in characters of the Tamul language; that the Danish denote the value of the pieces respectively by the words X KAS. and IV. KAS.; and that a dub of Madura or Tanjore has, with two *swâmîs* on one side, on the other, the *lingam* altar known to be connected with the impure worship of *Siva* or *Mahâdêva*.

MCVII.

Besides this current money there are in the collection a number of gold, silver, and copper pattern pieces (some of them of exquisite workmanship) which have from time to time been executed, under the superintendence of Mr. Wilkins, by Mr. Boulton of Soho, for the use of the different Presidencies of the E. I. Company, but of which only a few have been ultimately put in circulation. These it has not been judged expedient to engrave, as being European rather than Oriental; whilst, on the other hand, some that have been manufactured abroad, for local currency, are omitted as not possessing sufficient interest.

Of this latter description there was, a few years since, a coinage of gold and silver at Madras, evidently intended to supersede the circulation of what are commonly termed 'star-pagodas,' above described. From what analogy or corruption the word pagoda has been applied to a Hindu or Chinese temple, and also to the species of money properly named *hûn*, remains a question, but in this instance the popular application of it, in both senses, is sanctioned by the coinage; for in order to express by an appropriate emblem its identity with the star-pagoda, a representation is given of an Indian temple surrounded by a number of stars. The specimens in gold are a double pagoda piece (about the size of an English sovereign) weighing 4 dw. 1 gr., and a single pagoda, half the weight, with the same device: in silver they are a half pagoda, about the size of a Spanish dollar, weighing 14 dw. 2 gr., and a quarter pagoda, weighing 7 dw. 1 gr., nearly equivalent to a sikkah rupih.

MCVIII.—MCIX.

It is proper to notice, also, a coinage struck at Colombo for the use of our establishments on the island of Ceylon, a single specimen of which in the collection is of silver, and weighs 3 dw. On one side, in a circular band

band or garter, it has the words 'Five fanams,' and in the centre پنج فلم *panj falam*, expressing the same in the Hindustani language. On the reverse the value of the money is repeated in the Singhalese and Tamul characters. Unaccountably for a modern coin, it is without date. There are also double fanam and single fanam pieces of the same description. Another species of silver money of that island, issued soon after its falling into our possession, is without any oriental character, but has on one side the figure of an elephant, with the date of 1803, and on the other, the words 'Ceylon government. 48 St.' for stivers. Its weight is 5 dw. 20 gr. A piece of twenty-four stivers weighs 2 dw. 20 gr. and has the date of 1804.

RAJAS

RÁJÁS OF नेपाल *NÉPÁL.*

WHAT is known of the history of the kingdom of *Nêpâl*, or of the *Newar* race, its principal inhabitants, is of very modern date. Previously, indeed, to the reign of a prince named *Hâri Singha Déva*, which is said to have begun in the year 444 of the *Newar* era, or A.D. 1323,(1) their annals have all the character of fabrication; and even with respect to the reigns of several of his successors, the best informed writers are obliged to have recourse to general calculation for ascertaining their probable duration.(2) To *Jit Malla*, the sixth in descent, whose capital was the city of *Bhatgong*, is attributed the division of the country into three principalities, which subsisted till a late period. He was succeeded by his son named *Jaya Prakâsa Malla*, the first of the princes whose coins are here ascertained, and whose reign is thereby shewn to have taken place about the *Newar* year 819 or A.D. 1698. It is said that he annexed some neighbouring countries to his dominion; that he conquered *Gôrkha* to the westward and *Sikarjûng* of Tibet to the northward, and coerced the refractory chiefs of the other divisions of Nepal, whose capitals were *Lalita-patn* and *Kat'hmandu*, the latter of which became the patrimony of his second son. But of *his* successors, also, the accounts are imperfect, until the reign of *Jaya Rana-Jit Malla Dêva*, commencing in the *Newar* year 842 or A.D. 1721, who with the view of strengthening himself against the rival power of the *Kat'hmandu râjâ*, formed an alliance with *Prithi Nârâyana*, the chief of *Gôrkha*, and experienced the consequences that might be expected; the connexion being ultimately attended

(1) *Hari Singha* is stated to have been an invader and conqueror of Nepal, after being driven from his original territory in the *Tariyani* or low country at the foot of the hills, by the arms of *Gheiâs ed-dîn Tughlik*, a Patan sultan of *Dehli*.

(2) The reader is referred to Kirkpatrick's 'Historical Sketch of Nepaul,' p. 255. and Hamilton (Buchanan's) 'Account of the kingdom of Nepal,' p. 186.

attended with the loss of his own kingdom. This, however, did not take place without a very long and obstinate struggle; for upon discovering the ambitious designs of his ally, he effected a reconciliation with the chiefs of the other divisions, and in conjunction with them endeavoured, though fruitlessly, to resist the progress of the *Gôrkha râjâ*. He had also engaged the British government in his interest, and an attempt, that proved unfortunate to the small detachment, was made at that time to penetrate into Nepal. But in the end the superior military talents of the invader enabled him to triumph over the confederacy, and *Jaya Rana-Jit Malla*, after a reign of more than forty years, was compelled to surrender his capital of *Bhatgong*, and his person, to the conqueror, by whom he was allowed to retire to Benares, where he died soon after. *Kat'hmandu* and *Patn* had previously submitted.

Prithî Nârâyana Sâha Dêva was of a family that for six generations had ruled in the mountainous country bordering on the *Gunduk* river, named *Gôrkha*, who affected to trace their descent from the *Rajpût* princes of *Oudipûr*. His reign in Nepal must date from the final reduction of that country, which took place in 889–1768; but he did not long survive his victories, his death having followed in A.D. 1771, or the *Saka* year 1693, which Hindu mode of reckoning he substituted for the *Newar* era of the last dynasty; being 78, as the other was 879 years, later than the Christian era. He was succeeded by his son,

Pratâpa Singha, who, conceiving a jealousy of his younger brother, *Behâdur Shâh* (more properly *Sâha* or *Sâh*)[3] confined and afterwards banished him. He reigned little more than three years, and died in the *Saka* year 1697 or A.D. 1775.

Rana Behâdur, his infant son, was placed upon the throne, under the guardianship of his uncle, *Bahâdur Shâh*, who, when he heard of *Pratâpa Singha's* death, returned to *Kat'hmandu*,[4] from his exile at *Bettiyah*, and took upon himself the administration of affairs as Regent. In these functions,

(3) " It is necessary to observe (says Kirkpatrick) that the cognomen of this family is *Sah* and not *Shah*; though the latter is very generally affected by them, on account of its royal import." P. 272.

(4) It appears that from the period of the *Gôrkha* conquest, this city has been considered as the capital of Nepal.

functions, however, he was for a time superseded by the mother of the young king, named *Rajéndra Lakshmí Dêví*, who held the reins of government with a vigorous hand, and he did not ultimately regain his influence until after her death. The acquisitions of territory were considerable during his regency, but a war of an extraordinary character in which he was engaged with Tibet, terminated in his being obliged, not only to relinquish the conquests made in that quarter, but formally to recognise the paramount authority of the emperor of China over the Nepal dominions.(5)

As the prince advanced towards the period of his majority, the authority of his uncle declined, and his intentions with respect to the future state of the government became the subject of suspicion and jealousy. He was, in consequence, suddenly deprived of power, and soon ended his days in confinement; but we are not informed of the year in which these events took place.

Rana Bahâdur, now relieved from controul, rendered himself odious and contemptible by his low vices and addiction to cruel sports. After reigning some years (the number not known) he was prevailed upon, or compelled, to relinquish the throne to an illegitimate son, about six years of age, and to retire from the kingdom; but he was suffered to commit the regency to the hand of a female slave who had borne him children.(6) Affairs were in this state in the beginning of the year 1802, when an English mission arrived in the country;(7) but the political scene was soon afterwards changed by the unexpected appearance of the lawful consort of *Rana Bahâdur*. This 'virtuous and high-minded lady,' a daughter of the *Gulmi râjâ*, although treated with every species of indignity by her profligate husband, had accompanied him to Benares; but being there abandoned by him and exposed to personal distress, she took

(5) To *Behâdur Shâh* it was that Captain (subsequently General) Kirkpatrick's mission was addressed, and in the Appendix to his work will be found a curious detail of the circumstances which led to this war.

(6) It is not distinctly stated whether or not the infant *râjâ* was the son of this woman. From a passage in p. 255 of the 'Account of Nepal' it might be inferred; but in p. 257 it is said: "The regent, thus deserted, retired with *the raja and her son* to the sanctuary of a temple."

(7) The person employed was Captain Knox, whom Dr. Buchanan accompanied.

took the bold resolution of returning to Nepal; and finding her cause espoused by some of the most powerful chiefs, she entered the city of *Kat'hmandu*, and assumed the government of the kingdom. One of her first acts was to dismiss the British agent, who accordingly left the court of Nepal in March 1803.

Shortly after these transactions, *Rana Bahâdur* himself was induced to follow the example of his wife, and by hasty marches reentered his dominions, where he assumed the exercise of the regal functions, although, ostensibly, as the guardian of his son, and with the title of *swâmi* or lord, and not of *râjâ*. At the head of the army he placed a man named *Amra Singha*, who made extensive conquests to the westward, as far as the territory of the *Sikhs*, and who has recently distinguished himself in opposition to the British arms. The career of this prince, whose sanity has been questioned, was then drawing towards a close. Some acts of tyranny on his part excited terror and disgust amongst the chief officers, and he was assassinated in the midst of his court by one of his own family.(8)

Bhîm Sên, his confidential minister, to whom he bequeathed the care of his son, revenged his death in an exemplary manner, and took on himself the office of regent. The name of the young *râjâ*, according to the coinage, was *Girvâna Yuddha Vikrama*. He fell a victim to the smallpox in 1815, being, as it is said, only seventeen years of age, and was succeeded by a son, then an infant.(9)

COINAGE OF NEPAL.

The اشرفي *ashrafi* is said to be the name given to the principal gold coin, but it seems probable that this Persian term (from the Arabic) is rather that by which it is known to the people of Hindustan, than the indigenous appellation. The weight of a specimen in the collection, of the *Saka* year

(8) On the occasion of his funeral, his high spirited widow sustained the consistency of her character as a Hindu princess, by devoting herself on the pile of her faithless and unworthy husband.

(9) "The Raja of Nipal, who so lately procured himself a lasting reputation by his energetic resistance of the British arms, died on the 20th November last (1815) of the small pox caught in the natural way .... The Raja has left one son, an infant three years of age, who hassucceeded, and a regency has been formed." Asiat. Journ. vol. III. p. 614.

year 1684 (1762), is 7 dw. 11 gr., being exactly that of the gold *muhr* or *ashrafi* of the Moghul empire; other specimens of a later date being lighter by some grains.

The half-*ashrafi* is the most usual gold piece in currency. In surface it is equal to the preceding, but is thin, and weighs 3 dw. 13 gr. There are also quarters weighing 1 dw. 18 gr., eighths, 21 gr., sixteenths, 11 gr., thirty second parts weighing $5\frac{1}{2}$ gr., and some of so minute a size as to weigh only five-eighths of a grain. These, Kirkpatrick observes, are not in ordinary or general use, but occasionally sent as presents by the *rájá* to foreign powers; and he adds that 'the *ashrafi* (or *ushrupee*, according to the orthography prevalent in Bengal) is to be considered rather in the light of a medal than of current coin.' Buchanan says: 'Gold coins are called *ashruffies;* but the full *ashruffy* is not coined.' Yet there are three of these in the collection, varying several years in their dates.

The silver currency consists, in the first place, of pieces equivalent to the rupih of Hindustan, and, like that, divisible into sixteen *ánas*, an imaginary money of account. These are said by Kirkpatrick to be called *sikkahs*, confined in their circulation to Nepal proper, and far from common even there. According to Buchanan 'the integer is called *pura rupiya* or *du mohur*,' and is seldom seen. The weight of one in the collection is 7 dw. 3 grains.

The silver piece of eight *ánas*, or half rupih, weighing 3 dw. $13\frac{1}{2}$ gr., is the general silver currency of the country, and to it the denomination of مهر *muhr* is exclusively applied. It is also termed ادهيلا *adhêla*, and is that coin which was furnished, by treaty, from Nepal for the circulation of Tibet, and of which the supply being discontinued was the ground of war between the two countries.

The subdivisions of this are: the *adhâ*, half *muhr*, or quarter rupih, weighing 1 dw. 19 gr.; the *suka*, quarter *muhr*, or eighth of a rupih, weighing 22 gr; the eighth part of a *muhr*, sixteenth of a rupih, or single *ána*, weighing 11 gr., and the half *ána* weighing $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

MCX.—MCXII.

जय प्रकाश मल्ल *JAYA PRAKÁSA MALLA.*

I. Area. श्री श्री जयप्रकाश मल्ल — Silver, An. 819 Newar.

Srî srî Jaya Prakâsa Malla.

II. Area. नेपालेश्वर राजेन्द्र श्रीश्री महीपतीन्द्र मल्ल ८१९

Nêpâlêswara râjêndra. Srî srî Mahî-patîndra Malla. 819 N. (A.D. 1698). 3 dw. 12½ gr. 3 dw. 12 gr.

This silver coin (in duplicate) of the *Newar* year 819, answering to A.D. 1698, is (as has been observed) the earliest of the Nepal money with a well-ascertained date. Upon the accession of the *Gôrkha râjâ*, about seventy years later, he endeavoured to call in all the circulating money of the preceding dynasty, in order to recoin it in his own name, and this operation had the effect of rendering it so scarce, that a modern traveller tells us he was unable to procure in the country any pieces more ancient than the reign of that conqueror. Yet several specimens, as will be seen, have found their way to this collection, and amongst them two that are evidently of a remote period, but of which the inscriptions are so obscure that no satisfactory explanation of them can be given. On the first I cannot trace the semblance of a date. The second contains figures that appear to express seventy nine, as the decimals and units, but the figure in the place of hundreds is of a doubtful form. If, as seems most probable, it be intended for five, the coin would then have been struck in A.D. 1458. The mythological ornaments, as well those in the centre of each side (the *trisûla* and *lingga*), as the more minute ones in the marginal compartments, are similar to what we find on the subsequent coinage.

The denomination of these pieces of money, the most general species of the Nepal currency, is the *muhr*, consisting of eight *anas*, and corresponding

SILVER, An. 819 Newar.

responding in weight with the half rupih of Hindustan. The character made use of is the *Nágrî*, and the language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit.

The *Newar* era is so termed from the name of the race, predecessors of the *Gôrkha* family, by whom it was introduced. The difference between its computation and that of the Christian era is 879 years.

With respect to the name of the *râjâ*, that of *Jaya Prakâsa Malla* appears in the list with which Kirkpatrick was furnished, under the barbarous orthography (through a Persian medium) of 'Jye Ehshah Mull or Jye Kush Mull.' The appellation of *Malla*, signifying a hero, was adopted as a title by all the princes of this family. Those of *Nêpâlêswara râjêndra*, on II., seem to be a continuation of the king's titles on I., but to whom the additional name of *Mahî-patîndra Malla* is meant to apply, cannot be discovered from the scanty materials we possess. On other coins we shall find the Reverses not uncommonly occupied by the names and attributes of deities.

MCXIII.

जय प्रकाश *JAYA PRAKÁSA.*

SILVER, An. 819. N.

I. AREA. श्री श्री जय प्र *Srî srî Jaya Pra-*

II. AREA. काश मल्ल देव ६१९ *-kâsa Malla Deva.*

819 (1698). 1 dw. 19½ gr.

On this half *muhr*, or quarter rupih, it is only necessary to remark the division of the name of *Prakâsa* on the two sides of the coin, and the addition of the word *Dêva* to the titles.

MCXIV.

MCXIV.

जय प्रकाश *JAYA PRAKÂSA.*

I. Area. श्री जननी कु *Srî Janani Ku-* Silver, An. 819 N.

II. Area. मुदिनी देवी ८१९ *-mudinî Dêvî.* 819 N. 22 gr.

The date shews that this quarter *muhr* or two *âna* piece must have been coined in the reign of *Prakâsa Malla*, although his name does not appear on it, but, on the contrary, that of a female personage; and we shall perceive in the sequel that it was not unusual, in this and the neighbouring countries, to invest the queen-consort or the queen-mother with a portion of the regal authority.

Some doubts have arisen as to the division of the syllables composing the name, and whether the *Ku-*, of a word left imperfect on one side should not, instead of being part of *Kumudinî*, be considered as part of *Kumârî* (the latter syllables being understood); because it will hereafter be seen that the goddess *Bhavânî* is designated by the epithet of *Jananî-kumârî*; but the first being the more simple mode of reading, and *Kumudinî* being a name regularly formed from कुमुद् *kumud* the lotus, I give it the preference.

MCXV.—MCXVI.

जय प्रकाश मल्ल *JAYA PRAKÂSA MALLA.*

I. Area. श्री२ जय प्रकाश मल्ल नेपालेश्वर ८२३ Silver, An. 823 N.

Srî srî Jaya Prakâsa Malla Nêpâlêswara. 823 N. (1702).

II. Area.

SILVER, An. 823 N.

II. AREA. श्री महीपतीन्द्र मल्ल श्री श्री श्री कुमारी माक्ष श्री३ तलेक्ष माक्ष

Srî Mahî-patîndra Malla. Srî srî srî Kumârî mâksha. Srî srî srî Talêksha mâksha. 3 dw. 13¼ gr.

I. AREA. श्री२ जय प्रकाश मल्ल *Srî srî Jaya Prakâsa Malla.*

II. AREA. श्री२ महा पतीन्द्र मल्ल श्री कुमारी ८२३

Srî srî Mahî-patêndra Malla. Srî Kumârî. 823 N. 3 dw. 14 gr.

Besides the names we have seen on the coins of *Jaya Prakâsa*, we find on this, with the date of 823 (in triplicate) the names of *Kumârî mâksha* and *Talêksha mâksha;* but whether designed for royal or celestial personages (probably the latter) I am ignorant.

Another of the same denomination and date has the additional name of *Kûmârî* only.

MCXVII.—MCXIX.

जय प्रकाश मल्ल *JAYA PRAKÂSA MALLA.*

SILVER, An. 823 N.

I. AREA. श्री श्री जय प्रकाश मल्ल *Srî srî Jaya Prakâsa Malla.*

II. AREA. श्री३ गुह्येश्वरी ८२३ *Srî srî srî Guhyêswarî.*
823 N. 21½ gr. 5¾ gr. 2¾ gr.

On the Reverse of these quarter *muhrs* of the same date the name is one that belongs to the mountain goddess *Parvatî.*

On a half *âna* piece, without date, the inscription is *Srî Jaya Prakâsa,* with the small figure of a *singha* or mythological lion; the first that has appeared on the coinage of Nepal, although so common on that of neighbouring

bouring countries: and on a quarter *âna*, besides the usual emblem of the *lingga* in the centre, there are only the imperfect words *Srî Jaya Pr.* on one side, without any impression of characters on the other. SILVER, An. 823 N.

MCXX.

जय महीन्द्र सिंह देव *JAYA MAHÉNDRA SINGHA DÉVA.*

I AREA. श्री श्री जय महीन्द्र *Srî srî Jaya Mahêndra.* SILVER, An. 832 N.

II. AREA. सिंह देव श्री श्री श्री कलु नामय ८३२

Singha Dêva. Srî srî srî Kalu Nâmaya. 832 (1711). 3 dw. 13 gr.

From the imperfection of the annals it is difficult to ascertain the *râjâ* to whom the name found on this *muhr* should apply. The least improbable amongst those in the list given by Kirkpatrick is *Bhoput Indro*, the father of *Jaya Rana-Jit*, whose eventful reign will next become the subject of notice: but as Nepal was at this period divided into three principalities or states, nearly equal to each other in political consequence, this *Jaya Mahêndra* may have belonged, not to the elder branch of *Jaya Prakâsa's* family, reigning in *Bhatgong*, but to a prince of one of the younger branches, whose capitals were *Kat'hmandu* and *Patn*, and whose names have not been recorded.

It is equally unknown to whom that of *Kalu Nâmaya* belongs.

MCXXI.

जय महेन्द्र सिंह देव *JAYA MAHÉNDRA SINGHA DÉVA.*

SILVER, An. 839 N.

I. AREA. श्री श्री जय महेन्द्र *Srî srî Jaya Mahêndra.*

II. AREA. सिंह देव नेपालेश्वर गिरिन्द्र ८३९

Singha Dêva. Nêpâlêswara Girindra. 839 N. (1718). 3 dw. 10½ gr.

It may here be doubted whether the latter title on the Reverse is a continuation of those belonging to *Jaya Mahêndra*, or denotes a different personage; but the former opinion seems the more probable, in the sense of 'sovereign of Nepal, lord of the mountains.'

MCXXII.

जय रणजित् मल्ल देव *JAYA RANA-JIT MALLA DÉVA.*

SILVER, An. 842 N.

I. AREA. श्री श्री जय रण जित् मल्ल देव ८४२

Srî srî Jaya Rana-Jit Malla Dêva. 842 (1721).

II. AREA. Unintelligible characters. 3 dw. 12 gr.

The year in which this *muhr* was coined was the first of this *raja's* long but unfortunate reign, which terminated with the loss of his kingdom in the year 889-1768. It is remarkable in not having either of the customary emblems on that side which contains his name and titles; whilst on the Reverse we find both the *trisúla* and *lingga*, but without any legible inscription, although there appears to be an arrangement of some mystical characters.

MCXXIII.

MCXXIII.

जय रण जित् *JAYA RANA-JIT.*

I. Area. श्री श्री जय रणजित् मल्ल देव — Silver, An. 842. N.
Srî srî Jaya Rana-Jit Malla Dêva.

II. Area. संवत् ८४२ वैशाख १९
Samvat 842. *Vaisâkh* 19. 1 dw. 18 gr.

On the Reverse of this half *muhr* we find not only the characters that denote the current year of the era, but also the name of the particular month in which the coin was struck, being the first of the Hindu solar year, commencing about the eleventh of April.

There are also quarters, eighths, and sixteenths, of the same date, and with the same inscriptions as nearly as the sizes admit.

MCXXIV.

पृथि नारायण *PRITHI NÁRÁYANA.*

I. Area. श्री श्री पृथिनारायण साह देव १६७६ — Silver, An. 1676. S.
Srî srî Prithi Nârâyana Sâha Dêva. 1676 (1754).

II. Area. श्री श्री श्री गोरष नाथ श्री श्री भवानी
Srî srî srî Gôrakha-Nâtha. Srî srî Bhawânî. 3 dw. 13 gr.

This coin appears to have been struck by the *Gôrkha* chief many years before he completed the conquest of the country by the reduction of *Bhatgong*, at that time the capital of Nepal. In the style of his money he did not vary from the model of his predecessors, with the exception

SILVER, An. 1676. S.

of the mode of dating, which he changed from the era peculiarly employed by the *Newar* race, to the Hindu reckoning of the *sáka* or era of *Salivahana*, being seventy eight years later than the Christian.

The title of *Gôrakha-nâtha* (the latter term signifying 'lord') belongs to a holy person worshipped as the protector of the *Gôrakha* or *Gôrkha* country.(1) The name of *Bhawânî*, the wife of *Siva* or *Mâhâdêva*, is well known in the Hindu mythology, as the goddess of abundance.

Amongst the mythological emblems that ornament the face of the coin, we may observe, besides the sun and moon, the *chakra* or discus, the *padma* or lotus, the *sanka* or chank-shell, and the *gadâ* or mace.

MCXXV.—MCXXVI.

पृथी नारायण *PRITHÍ NÁRÁYANA.*

SILVER, An. 1690. S.

I. and II. AREAS. As in *muhr* or half rupih of 1676 S., with the difference of the date, 1690 (1768).
3 dw. 13 gr. 3 dw. 13½ gr.

The year in which this coin was struck was that of his finally obtaining the sovereignty of Nepal by the dethronement of *Jaya Rana-Jit Malla*, who (as has been noticed) was suffered to retire to Benares. There are *muhrs* with similar inscriptions of the years 1691 and 1692.

MCXXVII.

(1) "The capital, *Gorkha* (according to Buchanan Hamilton) is said to contain about two thousand houses and the temple of *Gorakhanath*, who is one of the tutelar deities of the reigning family." P. 244. For a particular account of this personage, who is styled 'the tutelary *saint* of a temple at Goorukhpore,' see the Asiatic Journal, vol x. p. 342.

MCXXVII.—MCXXX.

पृथी नारायण *PRITHÎ NÂRÂYANA.*

I. and II. AREAS. As in the preceding. 1693 (1771). 7 dw. 1 gr. GOLD, An. 1693 S.

Besides this full *ashrafi* there is, of the same date, but with curtailed inscriptions, a quarter *ashrafi*, of 1 dw. 17½ gr., and also (without dates) a sixteenth of 10 gr. and a small piece of 3 gr.; which last is not referable to any of the ascertained denominations.

MCXXXI.—MCXXXII.

पृथी नारायण *PRITHÎ NÂRÂYANA.*

I. and II. AREAS. As in the preceding. 1693 (1771). 7 dw. 3 gr. 3 dw. 12 gr. SILVER, An. 1693 S.

The first specimen here occurs of the double *muhr* or sixteen *âna* piece, equivalent to the rupih of Hindustan, and which, as our travellers report, are not found in the common circulation of the country. It is a respectable coin.

There is also a half *muhr* of the same year; and it should be observed that in this year the death of *Prithî Nârâyana* is said (but erroneously, as it will appear) to have taken place.

MCXXXIII.

नरिन्द्र लक्ष्मी देवी *NARINDRA LAKSHMÍ DÉVÍ.*

GOLD, An. 1693 S.

I. AREA. श्री श्री नरिन्द्र लक्ष्मी देवी

Srî Srî Narindra Lakshmî Dêvî.

II. AREA. श्री श्री भवानी १६९३

Srî srî Bhawânî. 1693 (1771). 21 gr.

The female personage in whose name this small gold coin (the eighth of an *ashrafi*) was struck may be presumed to have been the consort of *Prithi Nârâyana*, to whom the government may for a time have been entrusted, either in consequence of his being absent or of his illness. The name, it is true, is that of a divinity, but it will be found that both men and women of rank have their appellations from the mythology, and we shall see another princess, called *Lakshmî* also, acting a distinguished part in the state, not many years after this period.

MCXXXIV.—MCXXXV.

पृथी नारायण *PRITHÍ NÁRÁYANA.*

GOLD, An. 1694 S.

I. and II. AREAS. As in preceding coins of the years 1676 and 1693, with the date of 1694 (1772). 3 dw. 12 gr.

SILVER, An. 1695 S.

I. AREA. As in the preceding. 1695 (1773).

II. AREA. श्री श्री श्री गोरष नाथ श्री२ लोक नाथ

Srî srî srî Gôrakha-nâtha. Srî srî Lôka-nâtha. 3 dw. 13 gr.

The

The dates of these two coins are remarkable, inasmuch as they disprove the assertion, commonly admitted, of 1693–1771 being the year of *Prithî Nârâyana's* death ;[1] whereas it appears from the latter, that the functions of royalty were exercised by him in the *Saka* year 1695, which commenced in April A.D. 1773 ; and there is the less probability of any mistake, as no coinage of an earlier date than 1697–1775 presents itself in the reign of his successor.

Silver, An. 1695 S.

MCXXXVI.—MCXXXVII.

प्रताप सिंह साह देव *PRATÂPA SINGHA SÂHA DÊVA.*

I. and II. Areas. श्रीश्र प्रताप साह देव १६९७ Gold, An. 1697 S.

Srî srî Pratâpa (the figure of a lion for *Singha) Sâha Dêva.* 1697 (1775). 1 dw. 17½ gr.

I. and II. Areas. As in the preceding gold coin. Silver, An. 1697.

Upon the death of *Prithî Nârâyana* he was succeeded by the elder of his two sons, named *Pratâpa Singha ;* but the precise date of this event is not well ascertained. These coins of the year 1797 are remarkable for the fanciful manner in which the second of those two words is implied rather than expressed by the hieroglyphic figure of a lion, for which *singha* is the Indian term. The type of the silver coin (a four *âna* piece) so exactly resembles that of the gold as to render it probable that they were impressions from the same dies.

MCXXXVIII.

(1) "Purthi Nerain (says Kirkpatrick) did not long enjoy the fruits of his perfidy and address, dying about three years after the final conquest of Nepaul, or in the year 1771." P. 271. "Prithwi Narayan (says Buchanan, perhaps on the authority of the former) died about the year 1771, and left two legitimate sons." P. 246.

MCXXXVIII.

प्रताप सिंह *PRATÂPA SINGHA.*

SILVER, An. 1698 S.

I. AREA. श्री श्री श्री प्रताप सिंह साह देव १६९८
Srî srî srî Pratâpa Singha Sâha Dêva. 1698 (1776).

II. AREA. श्री श्री श्री गोरष नाथ श्री श्री गुह्येश्वरा
Srî srî srî Gôrakha nâtha. Srî srî Guhyéswarâ. 3 dw. 13 gr.

The date of this silver *muhr* or half rupih is the latest of *Pratâpa Singha*'s reign. He is said to have died, at a place called *Devighat*, in 1775; but as 1698 *saka* began in April 1776, the event could not have taken place before that year of the Christian era, if the authority of the coinage may be relied upon. His name of *Singha* is not here, as in the preceding smaller pieces, denoted by an emblem. Those on the Obverse belong to deities especially worshipped in the country of Nepal.

Of this *râjâ* there are also small coins, in gold and silver, but without date: of the former, sixteenths and thirty second parts of the *ashrafi*, weighing respectively 11 and $5\frac{1}{2}$ gr., and of silver, single *âna* and half *âna* pieces, of $10\frac{1}{2}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ grains.

MCXXXIX.—MCXL.

राजेन्द्र लक्ष्मी देवी *RAJÉNDRA LAKSHMÍ DEVÍ.*

SILVER, An. 1697 S.

I. AREA. श्री श्री राजेन्द्र लक्ष्मी देवी
Srî srî Rajêndra Lakshmî Dêvî.

II. AREA. श्री श्री भवानी १६९७
Srî Srî Bhawanî 1697 (1775). $20\frac{1}{2}$ gr.

The

The female personage whose name appears on this small piece of two *ânas*, was the wife of *Pratâpa Singha*, and we have here another instance of the coinage being struck under the authority of a queen consort. *Rajêndra Lakshmî* possessed considerable talents, and at a subsequent period, during the minority of her son, acted occasionally as regent of the kingdom. SILVER, An. 1697 S.

Of the year 1698 there is also, of this queen, an eighth *ashrafi* piece, weighing 21 gr., and a silver two-*âna* piece of the same weight; but whether struck before or after the death of her husband, is uncertain.

MCXLI.

राजेन्द्र लक्ष्मी देवी *RAJÊNDRA LAKSHMÎ DÊVÎ.*

I. AREA. श्री श्री राजेन्द्र लक्ष्मी देवी
Srî srî Rajêndra Lakshmî Dêvî. SILVER, An. 1700 S.

II. AREA. श्री श्री भवानी १७००
Srî srî Bhawânî. 1700 (1778). 22 gr.

This small silver coin with the date of 1700 s. was unquestionably struck during the reign of her infant son, at one of the periods of her governing the country on his behalf, which were frequently interrupted by the rival influence of the late king's brother, named *Bahádúr Sáhi.*(1)

MCXLII.

(1) "Behadur Shah, says Kirkpatrick, immediately on the death of his brother, returned from his exile in Bettyah to Khatmanda, where, placing his nephew on the throne, he took upon himself the administration of affairs as regent: but it was not long before Rajender Letchemi, the mother of the minor prince, who appears to have been very fond of power, contrived not only to supplant Behadur Shah, and to reassume the reins of government, but to secure the person of her rival." P. 272. "Singha Pratap, says Buchanan .... left his kingdom to his son *Rana Bahadur*, placed in charge of his uncle *Bahadur Sahi*, a very active enterprising prince, and of his mother *Rajendra Lakshmi*, a princess of a similar character. Two such enterprising personages could not

MCXLII.—MCXLIV.

रण बहादूसीह देवः *RANA BAHÂDÛR SÁHA DÉVAH.*

GOLD, An. 1700 S.

I. AREA. श्री श्री श्री रण बहादूसीह देवः १७०० *Srî srî srî Rana Bahadûr Sâha Dêvah.* 1700 (1778).

II. AREA. श्री श्री श्री गोरष नाथ श्री भवानी *Srî srî srî Gôrakha nâtha. Srî Bhawâni.* 3 dw. 13½ gr.

Our ignorance respecting the year of *Pratâpa Singha's* death, and *Rana Bahâdûr's* accession to his father's throne, has already been noticed. It was probably in 1698–1776, or two years earlier than the date of the gold coin here described.

Of this *rájá*, whose reign was nominally long, there are also the following specimens, with inscriptions not differing materially from the above: a *muhr* or eight *ána* piece, of the same year, 1700; half-*muhrs* or four-*ána* pieces, with representations of the sun and moon, in addition to the usual emblems, and the peculiarity of having the word *Bahâdûr* divided in such a manner that two of the characters or syllables are on I. and the third on II.; *muhrs* of the years 1702, 1705, 1706, and 1708; a two-*ána* piece of the same year; *muhrs* of 1713, 1716, and 1717; and, without dates, minute gold coins weighing something less than a grain each; and small silver, weighing respectively, 11 gr. (single *ána*), 5½ gr. (half *ána*), and ⅗ths of a grain.

MCXLV.

not agree: and until the princess's death, there were constant disputes, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, acquiring the ascendancy, and then confining or banishing their adversary." P. 247. It does not appear that *Bahâdûr Sâhi*, during his regency, coined money in his own name. He was at the head of the government at the time of Captain (since General) Kirkpatrick's mission to the court of *Kat'hmandu*.

MCXLV.

राज राजेश्वरी देवी *RÂJA RAJÊSWARÎ DÊVÎ.*

I. Area. श्री३ राज राजेश्वरी देवी — Gold, An. 1716 S.
Srî srî srî Râja Râjêswarî Dêvî.

II. Area. श्री श्री भवानी १७१६
Srî srî Bhawânî 1716 (1794). 21 gr.

The want of precise dates in the accounts we have of transactions about this period, in the capital of Nepal, leaves us in uncertainty as to the female whose name appears upon this small gold coin, struck towards the latter part of the reign of *Rana Bahâdur*, but we may presume it to be that of the person described as a slave girl, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom when he withdrew to Benares, and to whom a pompous title would of course be given on the occasion.

MCXLVI.—MCL.

गीर्वाण युद्ध विक्रम *GÎRVÁNA YUDDHA VIKRAMA.*

I. Area. श्री श्री श्री गीर्वाण युद्ध विक्रम साह देव १७२१ — Gold, An. 1721 S.
Srî srî srî Gîrvâna Yuddha Vikrama Sâha Dêva. 1721 (1799). The thrice-illustrious *Gîrvâna Yuddha Vikrama Sâha Dêva.*

GOLD, An. 1721 S. II. AREA. श्री श्री श्री गोरष नाथ श्री श्री श्री भवानी

Srî srî srî Gôrakha-nâtha. Srî srî srî Bhawâni.

The thrice illustrious lord of *Gôrakha.* The thrice glorious *Bhawâni.*

7 dw. 2¼ gr. 3 dw. 13½ gr. 1 dw. 18½ gr. 3 dw. 13½ gr.

GOLD, An. 1733 S. I. and II. AREAS. As the preceding. 1733 (1811).

3 dw. 13½ gr.

Besides this handsome *ashrafi* there are, of the same year, a half and quarter *ashrafi*, and also a silver *muhr*. The precise time of the young *râjâ's* succession has not been stated, but the richness and variety of the pieces bearing the date of 1721 render it probable that in that year the death of *Rana Bahâdur* his unworthy father, who affected to govern in the son's name, may have given him a less ambiguous claim to sovereignty.(1)

The half *ashrafi* of 1733 is particularly fair and handsome.

It remains only to notice a silver *muhr*, with inscriptions the exact counterpart of the *ashrafi* of 1721, but having the date, as it would seem, of 1738; the latter figures, especially that in the place of units, being indistinct and rather doubtful. It is understood, however, that *Girvâna Yuddha* died in the preceding year, 1737, and the difficulty arising from this apparent anachronism I have not the means of removing. As a conjecture, merely, we may suppose that at the time of his premature and sudden death, the dies had been already prepared for the coinage of the then ensuing year, and that the indistinctness remarked in the date may have been intentionally produced in order to disguise the error; the coin being now in as perfect a state of preservation as when it came from the mint.

MCLI.

(1) "Since the accession of *Rajah Ghur Ban Judh Bicrama Sah*' (the identity of the names will not be immediately recognised), 'a boy who in 1808 was nine years of age, the councils and entire management of the country have been entrusted to, or rather usurped by *Bheem Singh Tapah*." Asiat. Journ. vol. I. p. 553.

MCLI.

लक्ष्मी देवी *LAKSHMÎ DÊVÎ.*

GOLD, An. 1736.

I. AREA. श्री श्री लक्ष्मी देवी
Srî srî Lakshmî Dêvî.

II. AREA. श्री भवानी १७३६
Srî Bhawânî. 1736 (1114). 20¾ gr.

It appears from this coin that although the reins of government were committed to *Gîrvána Yuddha* in the year 1721 or sooner, the queen regent (a slave of the late *Rana Bahâdur*, and the mother of his children), had not relinquished her separate jurisdiction, sanctioned by custom as it had now become. The omission, in this instance, of the name of the *rájá* may be attributed to the small size of the money.

RÁJÁS OF *ASÁM.*

For the scanty knowledge we possess of the history of *Asám*, a country situated on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, at the foot of the *Bhutan* mountains, and on the banks of the river *Brahmaputra*, we are indebted to the valuable labours of Dr. Francis (Buchanan) Hamilton, whose account of it was published in the first and only volume of the Annals of Oriental Literature.(1) As might be expected of a rude people, the earlier portion of their records is obscure, and composed from vague tradition, if not altogether factitious. The race of their kings is deduced, as usual, from a celestial origin. To the names of the first twelve no dates or historical facts are annexed, and we only know, from the annals of neighbouring states, that in the year 1337 of the Christian era *Asám* was invaded by the arms of *Muhammed Sháh*, the son of *Tughlik*, sultan of Dehli, who vainly meditated the conquest of China, and again, in 1498, with results equally disastrous to the invaders, by *Ala-ed-din Husein Sháh*, sultan of Bengal; but on neither of these occasions is the name of the *Asám rájá* mentioned.

In the year 1665 the emperor *Aureng-zêb* sent an army under the command of his ablest general, to take possession of the country, and little opposition being made, *Gargang* or *Ghergong*, the capital, was occupied and plundered; its *rájá*, whom the Hindustani writers name *Jedej Sing* (for *Jayadwaja Singha)*, but whom the natives call *Chukum*, being forced to shelter himself in the hills. No permanent conquest, however, was effected, and the Moghul army found it necessary, from the nature of the climate and the want of provisions, to make a precipitate retreat towards Bengal,

(1) It is to be regretted that this interesting periodical work was so soon discontinued. Besides the account of *Asám* which it contains, there is another by a Persian writer, translated by Mr. H. Vansittart, and published in the second vol. of the Asiatic Researches. Mr. W. Hamilton's E. India Gazetteer may also be advantageously consulted.

Bengal, in the course of which, nothing but the consummate skill of the commander, *Mîr Jumlah*, could have saved it from total destruction.

Chukum, the thirteenth *râjâ* of the list which Dr. B. H. received from an intelligent inhabitant of *Asám*, was succeeded by

Gadadhar Singha, his son by a Hindu concubine, whose influence is said to have first introduced to the country the religion of the Brahmans, and the use, at court, of the Bengalese language. Upon his death his eldest son, named *Kana*, being disliked by the officers of government, was set aside, and the crown was bestowed on the second, who bore the name of

Rudra Singha. The precise dates of these events are not any where given, but may be approximated by means of those on the coins.(2) Of his reign the earliest in the collection bears the date of 1618–1696, and the latest, that of 1631–1709. At the East India House there is one of 1635–1713. To him succeeded his son, named

Siva Singha, of whom the earliest coin is dated in 1637, and there is another of 1643–1721; but of his queens, who, by a peculiar institution, ruled successively for a long series of years, and are said to have left to the king no more than a nominal sovereignty,(3) there are coins, first, by

P'hulêswarî, of the years 1646, 1647, and 1648, preserved in the collection of the E. India Company. Secondly by

Pramathêswarî Devyáh, one of which in this collection has the date of 1652–1730. Thirdly by

Ambikâ Dêvînâm, whose coins will be seen to bear the dates of 1654 and 1658–1736: and lastly by a fourth queen named

Sarvvêswarî Dêvînâm, whose coins, in this collection also, are of the years 1663 and 1666–1744. It will be found, however, that previously to these two latter dates, the *râjâ Siva Singha* (whose eldest son had been killed in battle) was succeeded by his younger brother, named

Pramatta

(2) The Bengalese character was first employed on the money of *Asám* in the reign of this prince. Dr. B. H. speaks of an ancient Asamese character found on their old coins, having a strong affinity to that of Ava. Of these (or what may be supposed such, for they have not been read) there are several in the collection, which will be noticed hereafter.

(3) For the origin of this female rule see Account of Asam in Annals, &c. p. 199.

Pramatta Singha, of whose reign the collection contains coins dated in 1660, 1670, and 1672–1750; and although the first of these seems to be inconsistent with the coinage of the last mentioned queen (in 1663 and 1666), the difficulty may be explained by supposing that the lady was not inclined to relinquish the power and privileges she had long enjoyed, or to consider the new king as a personage of more relative consequence than his late brother.(4) *Pramatta* dying without a son, was in like manner succeeded, and probably in 1673–1751, by a brother named

Rajêswara Singha, the specimens of whose coinage in the collection exhibit a series of dates from 1674 to 1690–1768. He is said to have reigned twenty years and to have been also succeeded by a brother,(5) whose name was

Lakshmî Singha. Of him there are coins bearing dates from 1693 to 1706–1784. His successor was his son, named

Gaurî-nâtha Singha, of whose reign there are coins dated from 1701 to 1716–1794; but previously to this last period he had been driven from his throne by an insurrection of the followers of a certain *mahamari* or spiritual teacher, whose influence he had endeavoured to controul, and who placed there his nephew, named

Bharata Singha. Of his coinage there is a specimen, dated (as presumed) in 1715.(6) In the following year, however, the English government deemed it politic and just to interfere, and effect the restoration of

Gaurî-

(4) In support of this explanation we may notice Dr. B. H.'s expression, that *Pramatta* 'succeeded his brother, *or rather* his brother's wife;' which seems to imply that she retained at least a share of the sovereignty till her death.

(5) It is obviously out of the course of nature that four brothers should have reigned in succession during so long a period of time as from 1637 (the first date of *Siva Singha's* coinage) to 1706 (the latest of *Lakshmî Singha's*), being sixty nine years. In some one of the instances we must presume a mistake in the relationship.

(6) It must be observed here that the numeral figure in the place of units on this coin differs in its form not only from any of those given in the Bengal Grammars, but also from those in the dates of the various coins themselves, which happen to furnish the whole series, from one to ten. Its nearest resemblance is to the eight, but I have called the date 1715, on the implied authority of Dr. B. H., who says, "This person, in a coin dated 1715, claims a descent from *Bhagadatta*, &c." There is some reason to suspect that motives of policy, connected with the unstable nature of his government, may have led him to employ an ambiguous cipher in the date.

Gaurî-nâtha, who coined money, as has been observed, in 1716; but in consequence of the weakness of his character, the royal functions were exercised by the *Bura Gohaing* or minister. About the same period the government was disturbed by the attempts of another pretender to the throne, by Dr. B. Hamilton named

Sarba-nanda Singha Narêndrasya, in whose name money is said to have been coined in 1716 and 1717.

Bharata Singha again attempted to raise his standard, and is reported to have coined in 1719, but was seized and put to death by the active minister, whose power now became despotic. Upon the death of the *râjâ*, *Gaurî-Natha*, whom he had placed in a state of confinement, he raised to the throne a youth named *Kinaram*, an illegitimate descendant of *Kana*, the eldest son of *Gadâdhar*, to whom he gave the title of

Kamalêswara, but did not venture to propose his coronation. In A.D. 1808 this *râjâ* continued to hold the nominal sovereignty by the same precarious tenure.

From this time there is a blank in our accounts of the *Asâm* government until the year 1821 or 1822, at which period we learn that

Râjâ Chattur Kant, having rendered himself odious to his people by his vices, was removed from the throne by his prime minister, who at first placed on it a young man of the royal stock named

Purandhar Sing, but soon after deposed this prince, and assumed the sovereignty himself. *Chattur Kânt*, in the mean time, had fled to *Ava*, and through the powerful assistance afforded to him by the king of the Burmahs, was enabled to recover his throne; whilst *Purandhar*, on the other hand, had taken refuge in the English territory, and having collected an irregular body of troops, the command of which he gave to an English trader, marched into *Asâm*; but he was presently defeated by

Chattur Kânt, with the aid of the Burmahs, and saved himself only by a precipitate flight; leaving the greater part of his army and its general, in the hands of the enemy. Delivered thus from all danger on the part of his competitors, the *râjâ* formed schemes for ridding himself of his too powerful auxiliaries, and treacherously cut off great numbers of them; the consequence of which was that the Burmah government sent

a large force to take military possession of the country, with orders to secure the *rájá's* person, and for this object, according to the accounts received at Calcutta, it had pursued him towards the borders of the Company's territory, which it threatened to enter, in case of protection being afforded to the fugitive, but had subsequently retreated. It was also stated that the Burmah general, named *Menghi Maha Theluah*, had been proclaimed *rájá* of *Asám*.

The coins of *Asám* are remarkable in being all of an octagonal form, with the exception only of the most minute denomination. The largest are equivalent to the Hindustani rupih, and its subdivisions are, halves, quarters, eighths, sixteenths and thirty second parts, which last weigh something less than six grains. At the foot of the inscription on those of the largest class, and immediately under the numerals of the date, there is a figure intended for the *singha* or mythological lion, which has a manifest allusion to the name affected by all the princes of the dynasty; as by the words *swarga dêva* is denoted their celestial descent.

It may be noticed, that in the coinage of this and some of the petty states immediately adjacent, the impressions on the opposite sides are coincident, upon turning the coins perpendicularly; whereas in the generality of eastern money the relative position of the dies is accidental.

MCLII.—MCLIV.

রুদ্র সিংহ *RUDRA SINGHA.*

SILVER, An. 1618 S.

I AREA. শ্রী শ্রী মৎ স্বর্গ দেব রুদ্র সিংহস্য শাকে ১৬১৮

Srî srî mat Swarga Dêva Rudra Singhasya. Sâkê 1618 (1696).

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী হরগৌরী পদাম্বু জ মধু করস্য

Srî srî Hara Gaurî padâmbu ja madhu-karasya. 7 dw. 8 gr.

(Of,

(The coin) of, or belonging to, the twice illustrious, heaven-born, *Rudra Singha.* In the year 1618 of the *sâka* era. The bee of the lotus of the feet of the twice glorious *Hara-Gaurî* (i. e. *Siva* and *Pârvatî* united in one person). SILVER, An. 1618 S.

I. and II. AREA. As the preceding. *Sâkê* 1631 (1709). 7 dw. 5½ gr. SILVER.

I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী রুদ্র সিংহস্য SILVER.

Srî srî Rudra Singhasya.

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী শিব পদ পরস্য

Srî srî Siva pada parasya. 3 dw. 15¾ gr.

MCLV.—MCLVII.

শিব সিংহ *SIVA SINGHA.*

I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রীমৎ স্বর্গ দেব শিব সিংহ নৃপস্য শাকে ১৬৩৭ SILVER, An. 1637 S.

Srî srîmat Swarga Dêva Siva Singha nripasya. Sâkê 1637 (1715).

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী হর গৌরী পদাম্বুজ মধুকরস্য

Srî srî Hara-Gaurî pad'âmbu-ja madhu-karasya. 7 dw. 8 gr.

I. and II. AREAS. As the preceding. *Sâkê* 1643 (1721). 7 dw. 6 gr. SILVER.

I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী সিব সিংহস্য SILVER.

Srî srî Siva Singhasya.

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী শিব পদ পরস্য

Srî srî Siva pada parasya. 3 dw. 15¾ gr.

MCLVIII.—MCLIX.

শিব সিংহ প্রমথেশ্বরী দেব্যাঃ *SIVA SINGHA PRAMATHÉSWARÍ DEVYÁH.*

SILVER, An. 1652 S.

I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী শিব সিংহ নৃপ মহিষী শ্রী প্রমথেশ্বরী দেব্যাঃ

Srî srî Siva Singha nripa Mahishî srî Pramathêswarî Dêvyâh.

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী হর গৌরী পদ পরায়নায়াঃ

Srî srî Hara-Gaurî pada parâyanâyâh. Sâkê 1652 (1730).
7 dw. 7½ gr.

SILVER.

I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী শিব সিংহ নৃপ মহিষী

Srî srî Siva Singha nripa Mahishî.

II. AREA. শ্রী প্রমথেশ্বরী দেব্যাঃ

Srî Pramathêswarî Dêvyâh. 3 dw. 16 gr.

MCLX.

শিব সিংহাম্বিকা দেবীনাং *SIVA SINGHÂMBIKÁ DÉVÍNÂM.*

SILVER, An. 1654 S.

I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী শিব সিংহ নৃপ তদ্বল্লভ শ্রীমদাম্বিকা দেবীনাং

Srî srî Siva Singha nripa Tad Ballabha. Srîmad âmbikâ Dêvînâm.

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী হর গৌরী পদ পরায়নানাং শাকে ১৬৫৪

Srî srî Hara-Gaurî Pada Parâyanânâm. Sâkê 1654 (1732). 19.
7 dw. 9 gr.

SILVER.

I. and II. AREAS. As the preceding. *Sâkê* 1658 (1736). 22.

It

It appears from the words *âmbikâ dêvînâm* annexed, in construction, to the name of the prince, that the coins were dedicated to his wives, who seem to be designated by a mythological allusion to the seven characters of the goddess *Durgâ*, denominated 'the seven divine mothers.' SILVER, An. 1654 S.

MCLXI.

প্রমত্ত সিংহ *PRAMATTA SINGHA.*

I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী স্বর্গদেব প্রমত্ত সিংহ নৃপস্য শাকে ১৬৬০ SILVER, An. 1660 S.

Srî srî Swarga Dêva Pramatta Singha nripasya. Sâkê 1660 (1738).

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী হর গৌরী চরণ কমল মধুকরস্য

Srî srî Hara-Gaurî charana kamala madhu-karasya. 7 dw. 6½ gr.

MCLXII.—MCLXIII.

শিব সিংহ সর্ব্বেশ্বরী দেবানাং *SIVA SINGHA SARVESWARÎ DÊVÎNÂM.*

I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী শিব সিংহ নৃপ তদ্বল্লভ শ্রী সর্ব্বেশ্বরী দেবীনাং ২৭ SILVER, An. 1663 S.

Srî srî Siva Singha Nripa Tad Ballabha. Srî Sarvvêswarî Dêvînâm. 27.

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী হর গৌরী পদ পরায়নানাং শাকে ১৬৬৩

Srî srî Hara-Gaurî Pada Parâyanânâm. Sâkê 1663 (1744).
7 dw. 7⅓ gr.

I. AREA. As the preceding. 31. SILVER.

II. AREA. Ditto. *Sâkê* 1666 (1744). 7 dw. 7 gr.

 Although

SILVER, An. 1663 S. Although one of the terms is here changed, the mythological allusion is the same as in the coin of 1654.

MCLXIV.—MCLXVII.

প্রমত্ত সিংহ *PRAMATTA SINGHA.*

SILVER, An. 1670 S.

I. AREA. *Srî srî Swarga Dêva Pramatta Singha nripasya. Sâkê* 1670 (1718).

II. AREA. As in rupih of 1760. 7 dw. 6½ gr.

SILVER.

I. and II. AREA. As the preceding. *Sâkê* 1670 (1748). 7 dw. 7½ gr.

SILVER.

I. AREA. *Srî srî Pramatta Singha nripasya.*

II. AREA. *Srî srî Siva pada parasya.* 3 dw. 15 gr.

SILVER.

I. AREA. *Srî srî Pramatta Singha nripasya.*

II. AREA. *Sâkê* 1672 (1750). 1 dw. 19½ gr.

MCLXVIII.—MCLXXXII.

রাজেশ্বর সিংহ *RÂJÊSWARA SINGHA.*

GOLD, An. 1674 S.

I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী স্বর্গ দেব শ্রী রাজেশ্বর সিংহ নৃপস্য শাকি ১৬৭৪

Srî srî Swarga Dêva Srî Râjêswara Singha nripasya. Sâkê 1674 (1752).

II. AREA.

II. Area. শ্রী শ্রী হর গৌরী চরণ কমল মকরন্দ মধুকরস্য — Gold, An. 1674 S.

Srî srî Hara-Gaurî charana kamala makaranda madhu-karasya. 7 dw. 7½ gr.

I. and II. Areas. As the preceding. *Sâkê* 1674. 7 dw. 7½ gr. — Silver.

I. and II. Areas. *Srî srî Râjêswara Singha nripasya. Sâkê* 1674. 1 dw. 20 gr. — Silver.

I. and II. Areas. As the preceding. *Sâkê* 1676 (1754). 1 dw. 20 gr. — Silver.

I. Area. *Srî srî Swarga Dêva Srî Râjêswara Singha nripasya. Sâkê* 1678 (1756). — Gold.

II. Area. *Srî srî Hara-Gaurî charana kamala makaranda madhu-karasya.* 7 dw. 8 gr.

I. and II. Areas. As the preceding. *Sâkê* 1678. 7 dw. 8 gr. — Silver.

I. and II. Areas. *Srî srî Râjêswara Singha nripasya. Sâkê* 1678. 1 dw. 20 gr. — Silver.

I. and II. Areas. As the preceding rupih of 1678. *Sâkê* 1679 (1757). 7 dw. 7½ gr. — Silver.

I and II. Areas. As the preceding quarter rupih. *Sâkê* 1679. 1 dw. 20 gr. — Silver.

I. and II. Areas. As in the preceding gold rupih of 1678. *Sâkê* 1681 (1759). 7 dw. 7½ gr. — Gold.

I. and II. Areas. As in quarter rupih of 1678. *Sâkê* 1682. 1 dw. 20½ gr. — Silver.

I. and II. Areas. As in the preceding. *Sâkê* 1684 (1762). 1 dw. 20½ gr. — Silver.

I. and II. Areas. As in the rupih of 1678. *Sâkê* 1690 (1768). 7 dw. 6 gr. — Silver.

SILVER. I. and II. AREAS. As in the quarter rupih of 1678. *Sâkê* 1690. 1 dw. 20½ gr.

SILVER. I. AREA. *Srî srî Râjêswara Singha nripasya. Srî srî Siva pada parâyanasya.* (No date). 3 dw. 16 gr.

SILVER. I. and II. AREAS. As in the preceding. (No date). 22 gr.

SILVER. I. and II. AREAS. As in the preceding. (No date). 11 gr.

MCLXXXIII.—MCLXXXVII.

লক্ষ্মী সিংহ *LAKSHMÍ SINGHA.*

SILVER, An. 1693. S. I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী স্বর্গ দেব শ্রী লক্ষ্মী সিংহ নৃপস্য শাকি ১৬৯৩
Srî srî Swarga Dêva Srî Lakshmî Singha nripasya. Sâkê 1693 (1771).

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী হর গৌরী চরনারবিন্দ মকরন্দ মধুকরস্য
Srî srî Hara-Gaurî charan'âravinda makaranda madhu-karasya. 7 dw. 9 gr.

SILVER. I. and II. AREAS. *Srî srî Lakshmî Singha nripasya. Sâkê* 1696 (1774). 1 dw. 12 gr.

SILVER. I. and II. AREAS. As preceding rupih of 1693. *Sâkê* 1699 (1777). 7 dw. 9 gr.

SILVER. I. AREA. *Srî srî Lakshmî Singha narêndrasya.*

II. AREA. *Srî srî Hara-Gaurî Pada Parasya.* (No date). 3 dw. 16 gr.

SILVER. I. and II. AREAS. *Srî srî Lakshmî Singha nripasya.* (No date). 22 gr.

MCLXXXVIII.—MCXCVI.

গৌরীনাথ সিংহ *GAURÍ-NATHA SINGHA.*

I. Area. শ্রী শ্রী গৌরীনাথ সিংহ নৃপস্য — Silver, An. 1701 S.
Srî srî Gaurî-nâtha Singha nripasya.

II. Area. শ্রী শ্রী হর গৌরী পদ্ পরস্য ১
Srî srî Hara-Gaurî pada parasya. 1 (for 1701-1779). 3 dw. 16 gr.*

I. and II. Areas. *Srî srî Gaurî-nâtha Singha nripasya. Sâkê* 1704 (1782). 1 dw. 20 gr. — Silver.

I. Area. *Srî srî Swarga Dêva Srî Gaurî-nâtha Singha nripasya. Sâkê* 1705 (1783). — Silver.

II. Area. *Srî srî Hara-Gaurî charan'âravinda makaranda madhu-karasya.* 7 dw. 9 gr.

I. and II. Areas. As the preceding. *Sâkê* 1706 (1784). 7 dw. 7 gr. — Silver.

I. Area. *Srî srî Swarga Dêva Srî Gaurî-nâtha Singha nripasya. Sâkê* 1716 (1794). — Gold

II. Area. *Srî srî Hara-Gaurî charan'âra mala makaranda madhu-karasya.* 7 dw. 7½ gr.

I. and II. Areas. *Srî srî Gaurî-nâtha Singha nripasya. Sâkê* 1716. 1 dw. 19½ gr. — Silver.

I. and II. Areas. *Srî srî Gaurî-nâtha Singha nripasya.* (No date). 22 gr. — Silver.

I. and II. Areas. As the preceding. (No date). 11 gr. — Silver.

I. and II. Areas. *Srî Gaurî-nâthasya.* (No date). 6 gr. — Silver.

MCXCVII.

MCXCVII.—MCXCIX.

ভরথ সিংহ *BHARATHA SINGHA.*

SILVER, An. 1715 S.

I. AREA. শ্রী ভা দত্ত কুলোদ্ভব শ্রী ভরথ সিংহ নৃপস্য শাকে ১৭১৫

Srî Bhaga-datta kul'ôdbhava. Srî Bharatha Singha nripasya. Sâkê 1715.

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী কৃষ্ণ চরণারবিন্দ মকরন্দ প্রমত্ত মধুকরস্য

Srî srî Krishna charan'âravinda makaranda pramatta madhu-karasya. In the *Sâka* era 1715 (1793). 7 dw. 6½ gr.

SILVER.

I. AREA. *Srî srî Bharatha Singha narêndrasya.*

II. AREA. *Srî srí Krishna pada parâyanasya.* 3 dw. 15 gr.

SILVER.

I. and II. AREAS. *Srî srî Bharatha Singha nripasya.* 21¾ gr.

RÂJAH OF رنگپور *RANGPÛR.*

THE district of *Rangpûr*, which now embraces those of *Rangamati* and *Kûch-Behár*, is situated in the north-eastern extremity of Bengal; having the *Bhûtan* hills to the north, and the river *Brahmaputra* to the east. The capital of the province bears the same name. Military possession of it was taken by the forces of the Moghul emperor *Shâh Jehân*, but it was not completely subdued until the reign of *Aurengzêb*. Its connexion with the mussulman dominion, however, is shewn to have become more perfect than that of other frontier districts in the same quarter, from the circumstance of the inscriptions on the coinage being in the Persian language and character, whilst those of the neighbouring states, as will be seen, are in the Bengalese. The dates, at the same time, are according to the Hindu reckoning, and the *râjâh's* system of faith is indicated as well by his name, as by the minute representation, at the bottom of the legend, of the mythological *singha*, which, it may be observed, partakes not a little of the Chinese dragon. In the angular form of the money there is a strong resemblance to the elegant coinage of *Asám*, from the borders of which country *Rangpûr* is not far distant.

MCC.—MCCI.

راجه نرسنگه *RÂJAH NARSINGHA.*

I. AREA. سري راجه نرسنگه عالم پناه — SILVER, An. 1674 S.

زد این سکه سلطان چو خورشید (و)ماه

The illustrious *Râjah Narsingha*, the asylum of the world, struck this royal coin, like the sun and moon.

 II. AREA.

SILVER, An. 1674 S.

II. AREA. ضرب رنگپور سنه جلوس ۱۶۷۴

Coined at *Rangpûr* in the year of the auspicious reign 1674 (*sâka*) 1752. 7 dw. 8 gr. 7 dw. 6 gr.

Respecting the reign or the predecessors of this prince no circumstances have come to my knowledge, and in the History of Bengal few notices can be traced of events connected with it, as an appendage of the Hindustan empire. About the years 1737–8 it appears to have been governed by an officer from the Moghul court, but may have subsequently recovered its independence.(1)

Of five specimens of these rupihs in the collection, one is square, with the date of 1674, and four are octagonal, with that of 1685.

(1) See p. 431.

JAYA-

JAYA-NAGARA.

ALTHOUGH not warranted by geographical connexion, I shall here introduce an insulated rupih of a prince who reigned in the city of *Jaya-nagára*, but of whom nothing further is known, and it is even doubtful whether the seat of his government was a city of that name in *Guzerát* or another in the province of *Bahár*, or some place different from either, to which the not unusual epithet of 'City of Victory' might have been applied.(1)

MCCII.

राघव प्रताप *RÁGHAVA PRATÁPA.*

I. AREA. श्री राघव प्रताप पवन पुत्र बल

Srî Râghava Pratâpa Pavana-putra-bala .... SILVER.

The illustrious *Râghava Pratâpa*, with the strength of *(Hanumân)* the son of *Pavana* (the god of wind).....

II. AREA. .....जय सिन्धु .... १८ जयनगर

..... *Jaya-sindhu* .... 18 *Jaya-nagara.* (These words only are intelligible). 6 dw. 23 gr.

The character of the inscriptions is *nágri*, but of the lowest order, and most part of the reverse cannot be understood. The meaning of the emblematical figures on I. is equally unknown. The period of coinage likewise is left uncertain, as only the numerals for 18 (probably the year of the reign) can be distinguished.

(1) I lately received this coin, unique perhaps of its kind, from my friend Capt. Charles Jones, formerly of the East India Company's naval service.

RÁJÁS OF *KUCH-BEHÁR.*

THE district so named, which is situated at the north-eastern extremity of Bengal, near the *Bhútán* mountains, with *Rangamati* and the *Brahmaputra* on its south-eastern and *Rangpúr* on its southern side, was formerly of much political consequence. It is now comprehended in the collectorship of the latter place. Few circumstances of its more ancient history are come to our knowledge, but in *Akbar's* time, according to *Abu'l Fazel*, the district of *Kamrúp* formed a part of the *rájá's* dominions, and it is elsewhere mentioned that about the year 1595 of the Christian era the name of the prince who filled the throne (as on the following modern coins) was *Lakshmí Nárâyana.* Professor Stewart, in his History of Bengal, speaking of the events of the year 1659, observes that "whilst the empire of Hindoostan was convulsed by the contentions of *Aurungzebe* and his brothers for the throne, several of the bordering zemindars and tributary rajas withdrew their necks from the collar of obedience, and not only neglected to send any part of their revenues to the imperial treasury, but even invaded the provinces. Amongst the most prominent of these was *Beem-narain*, the raja of *Couch Beyhar*, whose country, although frequently plundered by the Mohammedans, and compelled to pay tribute, was never absolutely subdued." P. 287. Under the years 1737–8 he further says: "About this period, *Sayid Ahmed*, the second son of *Hajy Ahmed*, who, upon the succession of *Shujaa addeen Khan*, had been appointed *foujedar* of Rungpore and who is accused of having ruled that district with great oppression, having procured from *Moorshudabad* a considerable army, invaded Dinagepore and *Couch Beyhar;* and after compelling the rajas to take refuge in the woods and mountains, got possession of those countries, together with the immense treasures which the rajas and their ancestors had amassed." P. 431.

In

In 1761 the country was subdued and plundered, and its temples dedicated to *Nârâyana* (Vishnu) destroyed by *Mîr Jumlah*, one of *Aurungzêb's* most celebrated captains; and in 1765, as forming part of the *sûbah* or province of Bengal, it fell under the English jurisdiction.

MCCIII.—MCCIV.

লক্ষ্মী নারায়ন *LAKSHMI NÂRÂYANA.*

I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রীমল্লক্ষ্মী নারায়নস্য সাকে ১৬৪৯ — SILVER, An. 1649 S.

Srî srîmal Lakshmî Nârâyanasya. (The coin) of the twice illustrious *Lakshmî Nârâyana.* In the *Sâka* (era) 1649 (1727).

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী শিব চরণ কমল মধুকরস্য

Srî srî Siva charana kamala madhu-karasya, the bee of the lotus of the foot of the twice illustrious *Siva.*

6 dw. 7 gr. 6 dw. 8 gr.

The language of the inscriptions on these rupihs, of rude workmanship, is Sanskrit, and the character Bengalese.(1) Another specimen has the date of 1659.

(1) Tavernier, who has furnished a tolerable engraving of one of these coins, erroneously describes it as money of the king of Pegu.

MCCV.—MCCVII.

প্রাণ নারায়ন *PRÂNA NÂRÂYANA.*

SILVER, An. 1666 S.

I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রীমৎ প্রাণ নারায়নস্য শাকে ১৬৬৬

Srî srîmat Prâna Nârâyanasya. (The coin) of the twice illustrious *Prâna Nârâyana.* In the *sâka* (era) 1666 (1744).

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী শিব চরণ কমল মধুকরস্য

As in the preceding.

6 dw. 4 gr. 6 dw. 2½ gr. 5 dw. 22 gr.

On a third rupih of this *râjâ*, the date is not intelligible.

RÂJÂS OF TIPERAH OR *TRIPURÂ.*

THIS country, which was formerly known to the mussulmans by the name of *Jagenagar*, and at a later period by that of *Rôshanâbâd*, forms the eastern boundary of Bengal; having the *Brahmaputra* and *Megna* on the west, *Silhet* on the north, *Chittagong*, with the sea, on the south, and on the west it is separated by ranges of mountains and thick forests from the *Ava* or *Burmah* country. Its chief city is *Lakshmípúra*, vulgarly Luckypoor.

Our knowledge of its history, as of other kingdoms in this part of Asia, is extremely defective, and even where some military transactions have been recorded by the Persian writers, they have not mentioned the names of its *râjâs*. In the *Ayin Akbari*, indeed, we are told that 'the chief of *Tiprah* is stiled *Yeyah Manick*, and that whoever are possessed ofrajah-ships bear the title of *Manick* at the end of their names.'(1) From the works of *Ferishtah*, also, we learn that about the year 1279 of the Christian era the country of *Jagenagar* was invaded and plundered by *Toghril*, who held the government of Bengal under the sultan of Dehli, but aimed at independence: that in 1343 it was again successfully attacked, from the same quarter, by *Shems ed-dín Iliás;* and that in 1733, during the reign of *Muhammed Shâh*, of Dehli, it finally became a province of the Moghul empire.

The inscriptions on its coinage, which bear date between A.D. 1685 and 1785, are in the Sanskrit language and Bengalese character. The denominations, in gold and silver, appear to correspond with those of the neighbouring countries. The form is round, and not octagonal, as that of *Asám*, to which it otherwise assimilates; but its chief peculiarity is that of having one side occupied with a grotesque figure of the Hindu *singha* or mythological lion, which resembles at the same time the Chinese dragon. The era employed is that of *Sálivâhana*, which dates seventy eight years later than the Christian.

(1) Vol. II. p. 5.

MCCVIII.

বহু মানিক্য দেব *VAHU MÁNIKYA DÉVA.*
সত্যবতী মহা দেবী *SATYAVATÍ MAHÁ DÉVÍ.*

SILVER, An. 1607 S.

I. AREA. Figure of the *Singha.* শক ১৬০৭. *Saka* 1607 (1685).

II. AREA. কালিকা শিব পদে শ্রী শ্রীযুহ বহু
মানিক্য দেব শ্রী সত্যবতী মহা দেব্যৌ

Kâlikâ Siva padê Srî srî-yut Vahu Mânikya Dêva Srî Satyavatî mahâ Dêvyau. (At the foot of *Kâlikâ (Durgâ)* and *Siva*, the most illustrious *Vahu Mânikya Dêva* and the illustrious *Satyavatî mahâ Dêvî).* 6 dw. 18 gr.

Of the reign of *Vahu Mânikya*, who appears from this coin to have exercised the regal functions in the year 1685 of our era, there is no historical notice. The female personage whose name follows that of the *râjâ*, we may presume to have been his consort; and it has already been noticed how frequently, in the countries bordering on India, the queens enjoyed a share of the sovereign power.

In Tavernier's 'Account of the money of Asia,' he gives an engraving of that of '*Tipoura*,' which he says contains the name of *râjâ Chatermani*, also called *Dieu (Dêva) Ara-gari;* which I have not the means of identifying; but as the last Indian travels of that observing and indefatigable, but inaccurate describer, were performed about the year 1665, the rupih may probably have belonged to the reign of the predecessor of this *Vahu Mânikya.* In his representation of it, although the general features cannot be mistaken, the characters seem to be both inverted and reversed, and are quite illegible.

MCCIX.—MCCX.

ধর্ম্ম মানিক্য দেব *DHARMMA MÂNIKYA DÊVA.*

I. AREA. *Singha.* শক ১৬৩৬ *Saka* 1636 (1714). SILVER, An. 1636 S.

II. AREA. শিব দুর্গা পদারজ্ মধুপ
শ্রী শ্রীযুঃ ধর্ম্মমানিক্য দেবঃ

Siva Durgâ padâraja madhu-pa Srî srî-yut Dharmma Mânikya Dêva. (Who sips the pure honey of the feet of *Siva* and *Durgâ*, the most illustrious *Dharma Mânikya Dêva.*)

6 dw. 19½ gr. 6 dw. 21½ gr.

The interval between the dates of these two coins being twenty nine years, it may be questioned whether *Dharma* was the immediate successor of *Vahu.* The title of *Mânikya*, agreeably to the remark of *Abu'lfazl*, we find to be applied to every individual of the race.

MCCXI.—MCCXII.

কৃষ্ণ মানিক্য দেব *KRISHNA MÂNIKYA DÊVA.*

I. AREA. *Singha.* শক ১৬৮২ *Saka* 1682 (1760). SILVER, An. 1682 S.

II. AREA. শিব দুর্গা পদে শ্রী শ্রীযুঃ কৃষ্ণ মানিক্য দেবঃ

Siva Durgâ padê Srî srî-yut Krishna Mânikya Dêvah.

6 dw. 19½ gr. 6 dw. 20 gr.

I AREA. *Singha. Saka* 1682.

II. AREA. *Srî srî-yut Krishna Dêva.* 3 dw. 12 gr.

Of this *râjâ* I have discovered some incidental notice. In a communication made to the Royal Society, by Mr. I. Corse, containing observations

SILVER, An. 1682 S.

vations on the natural history of the elephant, and particularly treating of those caught in the forests of Tiperah, he mentions a curious circumstance of one that was taken, in the year 1765, by '*Rajah Kishun Maunick*,' and adds in a note: "the Rajah is the principal Zemindar (landholder) in the province of Tiperah, paying the usual revenue for his lands in the low country; but in the hills he is an independent sovereign, has the power of life and death over his subjects, a *mint*, and other insignia of sovereignty." Philosoph. Trans. vol. LXXXIX. for 1799, p. 37.

Besides the whole rupih, there is a half rupih of the same date, with a contracted inscription.

MCCXIII.

কৃষ্ণ মানিক্য দেব *KRISHNA MÂNIKYÂ DEVA* AND জাহ্নবী মহা দেব্যৌ *JÂHNAVÎ MAHÂ DÊVÎ.*

SILVER, An. 1682 S.

I. AREA. *Singha.* শক ১৬৮২ *Saka* 1682 (1760).

II. AREA. শিব দুর্গা পদে শ্রী শ্রীযুত কৃষ্ণ মানিক্য দেব শ্রী জাহ্নবী মহা দেব্যৌ

Siva Durgâ padê Srî srî-yut Krishna Mânikya Dêva Srî Jâhnavî mahâ Dêvyau. 7 dw. 7½ gr. 7 dw. &c.

This rupih, with the same date (of which there are several specimens) contains, in addition, a name that probably belonged to the queen consort.

MCCXIV.—MCCXV.

ধৈর মানিক্য দেবঃ *DHARA MÂNIKYA DÊVA.*

GOLD, An. 1707 S.

I. AREA. *Singha.* শক ১৭০৭ *Saka* 1707 (1785).

II. AREA.

II. Area. শিব দুর্গা পদে শ্রী শ্রীযুত রাজ ধর মানিক্য দেবঃ
Siva Durgâ padê Srî srî-yut râja Dhara Mânikya Dêva.
6 dw. 21 gr.

Gold An. 1707 S.

I. Area. *Singha. Saka* 1707.

Silver, An. 1707.

II. Area. As the preceding. 6 dw. 23 gr. 6 dw. 19 gr.

There is only a single specimen of gold coinage. Its legend is precisely the same as that of the silver money of the same date: and here it may be proper to observe, that although the specimens of money coined by three of these four *râjâs* are numerous, there is no instance of two dates being found in any one reign; from which circumstance we shall be justified in concluding that whatever may have been the year in which a coin was actually struck, the date it bears is that of the commencement of the reign. A similar practice, as we have seen, prevails in the mint of the Ottoman empire. This date, of 1707–1785, is the latest that appears on any coin of the *Mânikya* family of Tiperah, and of its subsequent history the only notices I find are, that in the year 1821 a *râjâ* of Tiperah succeeded by the title of *Mahârâjâ Râma-gangâ Mânikya*,(1) and that in 1822 his son was married to a daughter of the *râjâ* of *Asâm*.(2)

(1) "Upon the representation of *Ramgunga Manik*, the present rajah of the Tipperahs, Koonkies, and a few other tribes, the Supreme Government were pleased to examine his claims and pretensions to the rajee, and being satisfied upon these points, directed the Judge and Magistrate of Zillah Tipperah to proceed with the installation of the rajah." What follows is too curious as a numismatic anecdote, to be omitted: "We were conducted into the verandah to witness the coining of a few gold mohurs and rupees, which was conducted as follows, *viz.* A piece of mangoe tree, about four feet in length, was half-buried in the ground, in the middle of which was inserted a die, having the representation of a figure somewhat similar to our sign of the zodiac Sagittarius' (not very like, as there is neither archer nor bow), ' and the Tipperah year; upon this was placed a circular piece of gold, of the value of fourteen rupees, and upon this another die, containing the names of the Rajah and his Ranee. A man with a sledge then struck the upper die, when the mohur dropped on one side complete. A similar process was observed in making the rupees." "In the evening the Rajah waited upon his European guests and presented to each of us two or three of his own gold mohurs, some of which are probably on their way to the secretary to the Asiatic Society." Asiatic Journ. vol. xii. p. 274. "Mr. Gibbons presented (to the Asiatic Society) in the name of Mr. Boileau, several rupees, being specimens of the new coinage of the Rajah of Tipperah, struck in the year 1743 (1821) of the Sukabuda æra." Vol. xiv. p. 36.

(2) "On the 13th of Kartick the marriage of the prince *Kishen-Kissore*, son of the *Muha Raja* of Tipperah, was celebrated with the daughter of the Rajah of *Asam*." Vol. xvi. p. 293.

RÂJÂS OF *JAYANTI-PURA.*

THE small and mountainous territory of *Jynta* or *Jainta* is bounded on the east by the province of *Kachar* or *Herumbha*, on the west by the *Garrow* mountains, on the north by the kingdom of *Asám*, and on the south by the district of *Silhet*, from which its capital, named *Jayanti-pura*, is distant about twenty miles. The natives are said to be known, as well amongst themselves as to the neighbouring tribes, by the name of *Khasi*. Of their annals we are entirely ignorant; no other name than that of the *rájá* who governed the country in the year 1820 of the Christian era, being any where recorded.(1)

MCCXVI.—MCCXVII.

The name of the Râjâ *does not appear.*

SILVER, An. 1683 S.

I. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী শিব চরণ কমল মধুকরস্য

Srí srí Siva charana kamala madhu-karásya. Of the honey-worker (bee) of the lotus at the foot of the most glorious *Siva.*

II. AREA. শ্রী শ্রী জয়ন্তী পুর পুরন্দরস্য শাকে ১৬৩

Srí srí Jayanti-pura purandarasya. Sáké 1683 (1761).

6 dw. 8 gr. 6 dw. 1 gr.

The

(1) In the modern orthography of Calcutta he is termed '*Muha Muheema Juyujynteeshwura; Shree-yoota Ramsingha Muharaja;* the great and victorious lord *Jynta*, the illustrious *Ramsingha*, the great king." Asiat. Journ. v. XI. p. 9.; where will be found much curious information respecting this sequestered country.

The inscriptions on these coins also are in the Bengalese character, corrupted, but easily legible. The ornaments are of a singular kind, being, instead of the usual mythological emblems, the representation of certain warlike instruments; a long sword on one side of the legend in Area II., and on the other, what seems to be intended for a match-lock gun. Of this date of 1683 there are four specimens, and one of 1696 (1774); but in the former the decimal figure has a peculiar shape, and may be thought five rather than eight. Some resemblance, however, appears between it and a numeral figure on an *Asám* rupih supposed to be of the *saka* year 1718.

SILVER, An. 1683 S.

MCCXVIII.

In this place may be noticed an unascertained silver coin, in size about a half-rupih, concerning which I know nothing but from the account given by Tavernier, who attributes it to a *râjâ* named *Maton shah*, whose territory he describes as situated beyond the first range of mountains bounding Hindustan to the north. The characters of the inscription are *Bengâli*, but formed in a peculiar manner, and partly illegible. On one side, however, the following words may, by comparing several specimens, be distinguished: শ্রী শ্রীমৎ নরেন্দ্র নারায়ন পালস্য *Srî srî-mat Narêndra Nârâyana Pâlasya:* on the other, the characters, excepting for *srî*, are quite uncertain. The weight of the specimen best preserved is 3 dw. 3 gr.

MCCXIX.—MCCXX.

There are also some specimens of a small, irregularly shaped silver coin, on one side of which (with a single exception) is represented an uncouth human or mythological figure (perhaps *Hanumán*) in a constrained

strained and grotesque attitude, and on the other, what have the appearance of vessels or utensils of a sacrificial kind. It does not appear to what country they belonged, but there is some ground for conjecturing them to be the *temâsha* of *Srinagur*, in the northern range of mountains, noticed in vol. XI. of the Asiatic Researches.(1) Their weight is from 2 dw. 16 gr. to 2 dw. 12 gr.

MCCXXI.

To another silver coin of a very different description, having fair, although illegible inscriptions, I was unable, in the first instance, to assign an appropriate place, and left it to be noticed along with others equally uncertain. I had observed, indeed, that in its size and octagonal shape it was analogous to the money of *Asám*, but had not adverted to the passage in Dr. B. H's. account of that country, in which he speaks of 'books written in a character which appears on the old coin,' until Plate LI., containing the *Asám* coinage, had been engraved.(2) That this rupih, of which there are three specimens, is in fact the old coin to which his expression applies, will scarcely admit of doubt, and especially as the character bears a general resemblance to the Burmese, as he remarks. The weight is 7 dw. 4 grs.

(1) "The *temásha* is a small uneven silver coin, 4 of which pass for the nominal rupee of the hills, and 5 for the *Farrakhábád* or *Baréli*.' P. 497.

(2) See Annals of Oriental Literature, p. 195, and Note (2) in p. 775 of this work.

RÁJÁS OF *MANIPURA*

The petty kingdom or district of which *Manipura* (the Munnypoor of our maps) is the capital, is situated towards the eastern frontier of Bengal, where the last place of note is *Silhet*. On the north it has the mountains of *Asám*, on the west, those of *Kachar* or *Herumbha*, and on the south-east, the country of *Ava*, to which empire it has been in subjection since the year 1774.

Of its ancient history, or names of the *râjás* by whom it has been governed I have not been able to acquire information, nor have any specimens of its coinage been elsewhere noticed.

MCCXXII.

गौर सिंह *GAURA SINGHA.*

GOLD, An. 1684 S.

I. AREA. से श्री गौर सिंह मनिपुरेश्वरात्ते नोत्पादानि

Se? Srî Gaura Singha Manipurêswarât tênôtpâdâni.

. . From the illustrious *Gaura Singha*, sovereign of *Manîpura*. By him (these coins) were produced.

II. AREA. आशाढ शुद्धे तिरंवत्व १३ संवत् १६८४ ॥·॥

Âsâra suddhê..... 13 *samvat* 1684. (Dated) the 13th day of the bright half of (the month) *Asâra*. Year of the era 1684 (1762). 7 dw. 10¾ gr.

MCCXXIII.

MCCXXIII.—MCCXXIV.

गौर सिंह *GAURA SINGHA.*

GOLD, An. 1684 S.

I. AREA. से श्री गार (for गौर) सिंह मनिपुरेश्वर

Se? Srî Gaura Singha Manipurêswara.

II. AREA. आशाढ शुद्धे तिं १३ सं १६८४॥.

Âsâra suddhê tim (or *ting*) 13 *sam* (for *samvat*) 1624. Date *tim* (or *ting*, a *Bengâli* contraction for تاریخ) 13th day of bright half of *âsâra*. Year of the era 1684 (1762). 3 dw. 17 gr.

I. and II. AREAS. से श्री गौर सिंह मनिपुरेश्वरः

Se? Sri Gaura Singha Manipurêswarah.
1 dw. 21 gr.

The coins of this *Manipura râjâ* consist of a whole, a half, and a quarter *ashrafi* or gold *muhr*. They are remarkable in being of a square form, with a deep protecting rim. The language of the inscriptions is barbarous, but the character *nâgrî*, and though the formation of the letters be rude and imperfect, yet the general appearance of the money is respectable.

Although the term of *samvat* or *sambat* (signifying 'the era') is more specifically applied to that of *Vikramâditya* or *Bikramâjit*, there is little doubt of the reckoning here used being (as in the following coin) that of the *saka*, which dates seventy-eight years later than the Christian era.

MCCXXV.

जय सिंह *JAYA SINGHA.*

I. Area. श्री श्री जय सिंह नृपवरस्य साके १६९४ — Gold, An. 1694 S.

Srî srî Jaya Singha nripa-varasya. Sâkê 1694 (1772).

II. Area. श्री श्री गोविन्द् पद् सुमन मधुकरस्य

Srî srî Govinda pada sumana madhu-karasya.

7 dw. 11 gr.

This gold *muhr* is of the same form as those of the preceding *râjâ*, but in the style of the characters there is considerable difference. The die-sinker appears to have made several illiterate mistakes in the inscriptions, particularly in reversing the first character of the word जय *Jaya*, and also the numeral ६ 6, thus, ३.

ARRAKAN.

THE next in geographical order is the class of coins belonging to what was formerly the independent kingdom of Arrakan, *Rakang*, or, as the natives are said to pronounce it, *Yekein*, but is now a province of the Burmah empire. The people who inhabit it, and generally those who frequent the mouths of the Ganges from all parts of that eastern coast, are familiarly known in Bengal by the appellation of *Mughs*: a term for which many contradictory etymologies have been suggested, but which seems most probably to be the مغ or مغو *mugh* of the Persian and Hindustani languages, signifying an infidel or pagan (Buddhist), although in the western parts of Asia peculiarly applied to the Fire-worshippers.

MCCXXVI.—MCCXXVIII.

The character on the coins is *nâgrî* of the most corrupt and distorted kind, and the inscriptions are illegible, with the exception of little more than the word श्री *srî*. The language has an evident connexion with the *Bengâli*. Of seven specimens, three present some variety and five are nearly similar to each other; but on most of them the legends are alike on both sides of the coin.(1) At the trading ports of Arrakan and Pegu they are current under the denomination of *tikal* or *takal*, and as their average weight is about 6 dw. 8 gr. are considered as equivalent to a sikkah rupih.(2)

AVA.

(1) Tavernier has given the figure of a coin, obviously intended for one of these, which he speaks of as being the money of Arrakan.

(2) In the Asiat. An. Register we meet with the following notice: "The raja of *Rekheng* has a mint in his fort, and coins silver rupees. A Rekheng rupee is equal to twelve anas dussmassa, or, in Rekheng, to three kahawon or forty-eight puns of cowries." Vol. I. p. 162.

AVA.

In the kingdoms of *Ava* and *Pegu*, now forming what is termed the Burmese empire, no coinage has been understood to exist. "The principal money of this country (says Hunter in his Account of Pegu) is silver, which is not coined, but paid by weight. The smallest denomination is the *tycal;* one hundred *tycals* make one *viss;* and these are used in weighing goods as well as money." P. 85. When Symes, however, was taking his departure from the court of Ava, to which he had been sent on a public mission, he was desired by that government to procure dies to be engraved at Calcutta, and pieces of silver, representing the *tycal*, to be struck for its use; according to a pattern with which he was furnished. With a specimen of these he favoured me.

MCCXXIX.

The money, as will be seen in Pl. LIII., is without inscription, and the devices, taken from the obscure mythology of the Buddhist priesthood are nearly unintelligible. That emblem which appears between two snakes with heads erected has been thought by some to denote one of the sectarian marks worn on the foreheads by certain classes of Indians,[1] but seems rather intended for the volute shell commonly named the conch, a particular variety of which is known to be sacred to Vishnu.

The execution of the coin is by no means such as to do credit to European skill, and there is no evidence of its having been put into circulation in the Burmese dominions.

(1) This mark will be found in Moor's Hindu Pantheon, Pl. 2. no. 30., and also in a Tract 'De antiquitate et affinitate linguæ Zendicæ, Samscrd. &c.' p. XLIV. by Paulino à S.B., who says: "Flamma ignis in conum ascendens *shica* vel shicavan dicta hoc signo apud Indos repræsentatur, et inter sacra hieroglyphica, quæ Indi in fronte vel pectore gestant, recensetur. En illud:" referring to a rude figure in the page.

TAVOY, TANASERIM, AND *MERGUI.*

MCCXXX.

THESE three places, situated in what may be termed the isthmus of the peninsula *extra Gangem*, lately constituted a province of the Burmah empire, but belonged in the last century to the kingdom of Siam, which may eventually regain possession of them. The specimens of their coinage are of the rudest description, being large, but thin, circular pieces of tin, impressed with the figure of a four-footed animal, not unlike a dog, intended perhaps for the *singha* or lion, if not for the mythological *ki-lin* of the Chinese. Pieces of tin money having some resemblance to these, but with a serpent for the device, are noticed by Tavernier as being current in the neighbouring Malayan states of *Kedah* and *Perak*.

SIAM.

In Siam the denominations of money and of weights are so much confounded, that it is scarcely possible, from Loubere's account, to ascertain the distinction. The *tical*, however, he says, is a silver coin weighing half an ounce, and equivalent to four *mayons*, as the *mayon* is to two *fŏŭangs* (fanams), and the *fŏŭang* to four *payes*. The *paye*, he adds, is nominal only, but the *song-paye*, or double *paye*, is the name of a current coin.(1)

MCCXXXI.—MCCXXXIV.

The specimens in the collection consist chiefly of lumps of silver of various sizes, and of a shape which it is difficult to describe in words. Tavernier compares them to hazel nuts, flatted semicircularly on four sides, but open like a horse-shoe. The more simple way, however, of considering them is as cylinders cut in lengths of little more than twice the diameter, and then bent by hammering until the flat ends nearly meet. They are also flattened at the side to receive two impressions, one of them heart-shaped, the other circular. Such is the general form of this singular species of money, and the weights of the several gradations of size are 9 dw., 2 dw. 10 gr., 14½ gr. and 8 gr. with a single specimen in gold weighing 15 grains; but there is also a much larger specimen in silver, weighing more than two ounces, irregular and complicated in its shape, and stamped with a variety of characters.

ACHÎN.

(1) It is evident that some of these denominations are borrowed from the coinage of India, and many of those applied to the weights and measures, in Loubere's list, are corruptions of terms belonging to the Malayan language.

ACHÍN.

Of this kingdom, now in a state of the utmost degradation, though formerly of some political importance in that part of the east, there are a few small, thin gold coins, weighing only 9 grains each. They are impressed with rude Arabic characters, have no dates, and are denominated *mas* (from a word signifying gold), which is by our traders more commonly written *mace*.

MCCXXXV.—MCCXXXVII.

On three of them may be distinguished the words سلطان جوهن بن دولت شاه *Sultán Júhan ben Daulat Sháh* or *Júhan sháh ben Daulat;* on two, ركن الدين بن دولت شاه *Rukn ed-dín ben Daulat Sháh;* and on one, ظفر الدين بن دولت شاه *Zefer ed-dín ben Daulat Sháh;* from whence it may be inferred that three sons of a sultan named *Daulat Sháh* exercised in succession the right of coining money; unless we suppose that the phrase of *ben daulat* may signify no more than that they were royally descended. Of their reigns I do not find any notice, excepting that a sultan named *Júhan Sháh* sat on the throne from the year 1735 to 1760.(1) On the reverses there are some obscure words of which little more than سري سلطان *srí sultán* is legible.

(1) See History of Sumatra (ed. 3) p. 459.

PÚLO PÍNANG OR PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND.

MCCXXXVIII.—MCCXXXIX.

THERE are in the collection a few specimens of small silver coins struck in Bengal for the use of the English settlement at this place. On one side is the customary mark of the East-India Company, with the date of 1788, and on the other, in the Arabic character, the barbarous words, جزيرة پرنس ابويلس 'Jezîrah Prans ab Wallis,' for 'Prince of Wales Island.' The weight of the larger coin is 4 dw. 4½ gr. and of the smaller, 1 dw. 18 gr. There is also a small specimen in copper, with the same inscription, and date of 1787.

WEST COAST OF SUMATRA.

MCCXL.—MCCXLII.

For the use of the English settlements on this island, coins of silver and copper were struck at Calcutta; not, however, by the government, but as a private speculation. Those in the former metal weigh 8 dw. 6 gr. and were intended to represent the half of a Spanish dollar, which is the general currency of the Eastern islands. On one side is the following inscription in the Malayan language: ٢ ١١٩٧ دوا سوکو اواڠ کمڤني '*Wâng kompanî dûa sûkû*, Company's money,[1] two *sûkûs*' or quarter parts of the dollar, '1197.' On the other side are the words, in Roman capitals, Fort Marlbro' 1783, with the figure 2. On small copper pieces of the same year the words are: ٢ ١١٩٧ دوا کڤڠ *Dûa kepeng* 1197;' denoting their value to be two copper cash, 400 of which are equal to a dollar. Pattern pieces of these were also struck in silver, and appear anomalous in the collection.

In the year 1786 I was desired by a Committee of the East-India Directors to suggest a plan for a currency of silver and copper to be coined in England for the use of the Company's establishments in Sumatra, and which I accordingly furnished; but only the part relating to the copper was carried into effect. Dies for pieces of one, two, and three *kepeng* or cash were engraved under the direction of the late Mr. Boulton at his great manufactory of Soho, near Birmingham.[2] The simple inscriptions were: ١ سکڤڠ, ٢ دوا کڤڠ, and ٣ تيگ کڤڠ, and I may be allowed to observe, that my attention being more employed in ascertaining the proportions of weight and value relatively to the price of the metal, than to the style of workmanship, the design and execution have nothing to boast of beyond correctness.

(1) The word *wang*, besides its signification of 'money' is specifically applied to the silver *fanam* of the Karnatik, twenty four of which are held to be equivalent to the Spanish dollar. The treble *fanam* or eighth part of a dollar is denominated a *tali* or *sa-tali*.

(2) This was the first money coined on account of the East India Company at that celebrated mint, to which the power of steam has been so successfully applied, and from whence so many millions of currency have since issued.

JAVA.

MCCXLIII.—MCCXLVI.

Of the ancient coinage of the island of Java the collection contains fifteen specimens, which (as well as several others) I owe to the kindness of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, in whose History of the island engravings of several coins of the same class will be found, and to which excellent work the reader is referred for much information respecting its antiquities. They are of brass, and resemble in their exterior form (particularly in the square perforation for stringing them) the largest sort of Chinese money named *shi-tsien*. They are filled with grotesque devices, presumed to be derived from the Javanese mythology; but even in this respect they are not without their parallels in the early coinage of the Chinese empire, if we may trust to the authenticity of representations given in their numismatic works. Their dates, according to the information Sir Stamford received from the native chiefs, are from the ninth to the sixteenth century of our era; from which the Javanese reckoning of time differs, in being later by seventy three years.(1)

MCCXLVII.

The same friend has furnished the collection with two small specimens of what may be considered as coins of the ancient state of *Majapâhit*.

 They

(1) With the other Hindu institutions it is in the highest degree probable that the Javans adopted the era of *Salivahana*, the solar computation of which is known to be seventy eight years later than the Christian. Between this and the actual Javanese era the difference is five years, which may perhaps be accounted for in this way: that after the conversion of these people to the mussulman faith, their religious observances may have led them, although not for some centuries, to fall into the use of the lunar year, and these being shorter than the solar by eleven days, the reckoning would of course be accelerated, whilst in the same ratio the difference between it and the earlier date of the Christian era would be diminished. On this principle, to reduce seventy eight to seventy three would require a lapse of one hundred and fifty seven years.

They are of gold much alloyed with silver, of a cubical form, and have on two sides what seem to be letters of the *Kawî* alphabet. Their weight is only 1 dw. 15 gr.

MCCXLVIII.—MCCXLIX.

Belonging to a more recent period, and coined under the authority of the Dutch government-general of Batavia, but at the mint of *Sûrabâya*, there are several specimens of gold and silver money intended for circulation in the island of Java. The inscriptions are in bastard Arabic, and in characters so rude and distorted as to be illegible to any person, however learned, who had not been familiarised to such writing. On one side of a gold piece of the larger size, weighing about half an ounce, and improperly called *rupîah 'mas* or gold rupih, may be deciphered the words درهم من كمڤني ولندوي 'money of the Hollands Company,' and on the other الي جزيرة جاو الكبير 1784 'on the island of Java major;' with the device of a cock (gallus gal.) at the top of the area. Another specimen is of the year 1797; and with the dates of 1798 and 1807 there are gold pieces of half the above weight or about a quarter of an ounce.

MCCL.—MCCLI.

The silver coins, or rupihs, of this class have precisely the same Arabic inscription as the gold, the word درهم *dirham*, which on the coinage of western Asia is confined to silver money (as دينار is to gold), appearing on both in the sense of money in general. On these we do not find the cock, but they have, at the bottom of the area, the letter Z as a mint-mark. Their dates and respective weights are as follows: of the year 1747, 7 dw. 9 gr. 1765, 8 dw. 6 gr. 1766, 8 dw. 7 gr. 1783, 8 dw. 15 gr. 1801, 8 dw. 12 gr. 1804, 8 dw. 2 gr. 1805, 8 dw. 5 gr. 1806, 8 dw. 7 gr. and of 1808, 8 dw. 13½ grs. There are also half rupihs (if such they may be termed), weighing 4 dw. 7 gr., of the year 1806.

MCCLII.

MCCLII.

Among the specimens of copper money, which have in general but little pretension to be classed with oriental, there is a small one with the words ۱۷۶۴ دويت جاو, and on the other side 'Duÿt Javas 1764.'

MCCLIII.—MCCLIV.

Subsequently to the conquest of the Dutch establishments in 1811 the coinage assumed a new appearance, and we find gold pieces weighing 4 dw. 22 gr., but equally termed *rupiah 'mas*, with the following inscriptions not unskilfully executed: on one side the words سكه كمڤني هنگليس ضرب درجزيره جاو سنه ۱۲۲۹ 'coin of the English Company struck in the island of Java, in the year (of the *hejrah*) 1229;' and on the other, the same words in the Javanese character, with the date of the Christian era 1814. At the bottom is the mint-mark Z. There is also a half gold rupih.

MCCLV.

The silver rupihs of the Anglo-Javan coinage weigh 8 dw. 16 gr., and have inscriptions in similar characters to the same purport; but the date of the *hejrah* is 1228 (1813), and that of the Christian era is not expressed.

JAPANESE.

THE coins of Japan in the collection are of gold, silver, and copper or brass, and may be classed under the following denominations, on the authorities of Kæmpfer and Thunberg:

MCCLVI.—MCCLIX.

The *kobang* is a large but thin oval piece of gold or silver, marked with fine parallel lines that cover or shade the surface, excepting where it receives the impression of certain ornamental figures and written characters. Those nearest to the extremities of the oval might from their appearance be supposed merely of the former kind, but are stated by Kæmpfer to be the stamp, or arms, as he expresses it, of the *Daïri* or ecclesiastical emperor. In the two intermediate compartments there are words in the Chino-Javanese character, the uppermost of which, according to the same traveller, denotes the value, or rather the weight of the piece, and the lower one, the title of the master of the mint. A mark in the centre of the reverse is further said to be that of the inspector general of the gold and silver money; and there are also on that side several minute stamps, irregularly disposed, being those of individual merchants through whose hands the coin had passed.(1) On one specimen the Obverse is impressed, in the centre, with a figure of the Belgic lion, shewing that it had been in the treasury of the Dutch factory at *Nagasaki* or *Desima*.

The

(1) "Presqu' aucune (monnoie du Japon), says Thunberg, n'a une valeur fixe: c'est pourquoi chaque marchand les pèse et y appose son poinçon, pour indiquer que la monnoie est de poids et de bon aloi." Voyage de Thunberg au Japon, par Langlès, t. II. p. 483. All the stamps are in relief.

The colour of the gold of which this is composed denotes it to be of 'high touch' or degree of purity, and this quality, as well as a larger size, distinguishes, according to Thunberg, the ancient from the modern *kobangs*. Its weight is 11 dw. 10 gr., whilst that of the pieces formed of paler gold is only 8 dw. 9 gr. A silver *kobang* has no other impression than the imperial stamp and the characters said to express the weight, which are similar to those noticed on the gold specimens, although it weighs 10 dw. 16 grs.(2)

MCCLX.—MCCLXII.

The *itzebo* of Kæmpfer and *itchibou* or *itchip* of Thunberg, is a small gold piece, of an oblong or double-square form, being in length six tenths of an inch, by three tenths. Its impressions are, on one side, the flowers (intended perhaps for the lotus) which Kæmpfer describes as the imperial arms, and on the other, in Chino-Japanese characters, the title of the master of the mint. Two specimens, the gold of which is of a purer quality, weigh 2 dw. 21 gr. each. A third, containing more alloy of silver, and which has the additional Chinese character noticed by Thunberg, weighs only 2 dw. 3 grs.(3)

MCCLXIII.

The *nandio-guin* of that traveller is a silver piece (as the Japanese word *guin* imports) of the same oblong shape, about an inch in length by half an

(2) Mention is made by Kæmpfer and Thunberg of a piece much larger than the *kobang*, termed *obang*, and the latter traveller remarks that in the Japanese language *o* signifies 'great,' *ko* 'small,' and *bang* 'money;' which last, there can be little doubt, is the *wang* of the Malays, written *vang* in his vocabulary of their language. It has already been observed that the Siamese, in their weights and measures, have adopted several Malayan terms.

(3) Tavernier, who has given an engraving of this coin, erroneously states it to be money of Siam.

an inch in breadth, and weighing 6 dw. 12 grs. At the top, on one side, is a peculiar emblem, unappropriately termed by him a double crescent. The remainder of the surface on both sides is filled with Chino-Japanese characters, which seem to imply that 'the moneyers at the silver mint always exchange eight *nan-liao* for a certain part of an ounce piece;' but it must be allowed that the explanation is not very intelligible.(4) Of this there are duplicate specimens.

MCCLXIV.—MCCLXV.

Other silver pieces of the same form, and of the size of the gold *itzebo*, have characters on one side only, which express the Chinese words *yi fun* 'one part.' Not being described either by Kæmpfer or Thunberg, the Japanese denomination is unknown, but their weight is about that of the mace or *mas* of Canton, or equal to ten *kandorins*. The specimens in the collection weigh from 2 dw. 11 gr. to 2 dw. 2 gr., with a slight variation in the characters. Their silver has the appearance of some adulteration with tin.

MCCLXVI.

In addition to these coins, if they should not be considered rather as stamped bullion, there are other and ruder piecesof silver that may properly be termed ingots. Tavernier has described one of this class, weighing seven French ounces, and Thunberg more circumstantially, by the name of *ita-ganne*. In the plates annexed to the works of both will be found

(4) It is well known that the Chinese mode of writing prevails in several of the neighbouring countries, where the languages spoken are entirely different from that of China and from each other. Its characters, speaking to the eye, like our numerical ciphers, convey their meaning without any reference to sounds. In the style of writing, however, there are local peculiarities, especially in the cursive or running hand.

found representations of these ill-formed masses. That which belongs to the collection is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length (rounded at the ends), by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in breadth, and $\frac{3}{8}$ths of an inch in thickness. Its weight is 5 oz. 3 dwt., and its upper or flatter surface is irregularly covered with the stamps of individual merchants.

MCCLXVII.—MCCLXVIII.

The *kodoma* is a small, imperfectly spherical lump, on which there are, in like manner, a few stamps. The size is about that of a large pea or small pistol bullet, and those in the collection weigh from 6 dw. 8 gr. to 4 dw. 1 gr. According to Thunberg the difference of their weights is still more considerable.

MCCLXIX.

Independently of gold and silver coin, which passes by weight and has the quality of bullion, the ordinary currency of Japan consists of thin, perforated, brass money, so exactly resembling that of China as to be almost identified with it. Many specimens, indeed, that were brought from Japan and labelled as the coins of certain emperors of that country, are found to contain no other than the names of Chinese emperors. One, however, of a more genuine description, may be given as a sample. It is a coin of the Japanese empress *Nio-ji*, whose honorary appellation in the inscription is *Kwan-yung* (according to the Chinese pronunciation), and who reigned from A.D. 1630 to 1643. Several will be found in Thunberg's work, Pl. 7 and 8. The species of money is named *séni*, which is obviously a corruption of the Chinese *tsien*.(1)

CHINA.

(1) " Les Chinois (says this traveller) apportent aussi à leur comptoir de Nagasaki des pièces chinoises rondes en cuivre jaune : mais il ne faut pas les mettre au nombre des monnoies Japonoises, quoiqu'elles ressemblent beaucoup au *séni*, mais les inscriptions sont différentes." T. II. p. 494. But it may be observed that the formulary words are alike on both; and the same writer, in describing the double *séni*, terms it " une monnoie à la fois japonoise et chinoise . . . Selon toutes les apparences, elle est originairement venue de la Chine." P. 496.

CHINA.

THE general, if not the only coinage of this great empire, is the thin brass or base metal piece denominated *kaxa* or *kasha* by the early Portuguese, by the English *kash* or cash, and by the Chinese themselves, *tsîen* or *tông-tsîen*. Their size is not uniform, but the most usual currency is about an inch in diameter; the weight (exclusive of the multiples, which seem to occur but rarely) varying from 1 dw. 20 gr. to 2 dw. 20 gr., those of the latter dynasties being heavier, and more exclusively brass,(1) than the older coins. In the centre of each piece is a square hole for the purpose of stringing them by hundreds, which facilitates the process of counting as well as their conveyance. Until the subjugation of China by the *Ta-tsing* or present Manchu-Tartar dynasty, the impression was only on one side of the money, but since that period we find on the Reverses Manchu characters denoting the places of coinage.

As the number of specimens of Chinese money in the collection, especially of the earlier reigns, bears a very small proportion to that of the monarchs who have filled the throne, it is unnecessary to furnish a series of the dynasties in this place, or to do more than refer the reader to the lists of the names and titles of the emperors to be found in 'l'Art de vérifier les Dates,' in Dr. Morrison's 'View of China for Philological purposes,' and in M. Klaproth's 'Verzeichniss.' For our present object it will be sufficient to give, in chronological order, the titles as they occur upon the coins, being generally those assumed upon their accession, together

(1) The metal commonly used in the fabrication of this money is copper mixed with tutenag. Respecting the nature of the latter material there has been much confusion amongst chemists, whose experiments appear to have been made upon fragments of Chinese utensils, the substance of which was white copper or other factitious metals, not unfrequently but very incorrectly named tutenag by those who purchase them at Canton. The tutenag of commerce, in its unwrought state, has been ascertained to be no other than zinc.

together with what may be termed their posthumous or historical titles,(2) the appellation of the dynasty to which they respectively belonged, and the places of coinage, where the inscriptions contain that information.

DYNASTY OF THE *TANG*.

MCCLXX.

Kaï-Yuen, historically named *Hiuen-tsông*, began to reign in the year of Christ 713,(3) and after a long struggle with a powerful Tartar tribe, followed by an insurrection of his own subjects, was compelled to withdraw from his capital in 756, when he relinquished the government to his son.

Of the four characters composing the short inscription, those at top and bottom express the emperor's title of *Kaï-yuen*. The lateral or

(2) "The emperors of China (Dr. Morrison observes) besides their proper names, take a title when they ascend the throne. This title is called their *kwo-haou* or *nëen-haou*; in assuming which they employ characters which denote something felicitous. When the emperors die, another title is written on a tablet dedicated to them in the temples where they are interred. This title is called their *meaou-haou*. By the *kwo-haou* they are generally mentioned when quoting them for merely chronological purposes; however, as previous to the *Ming* dynasty, many of the emperors changed their *kwo-haou* several times during the period of one reign, it is in this case more simple to use their *meaou-haou*." View of China, &c. p. 2.

M. Klaproth has shewn that the terms usually considered as the names or titles of the emperors are no other than expressions of the quality of those years which composed their respective reigns; but admitting this explanation, it is not the less a fact that the words *Yông-lo*, *Kang-hi*, *Kien-lông*, &c. are those by which certain emperors are designated in the writings and conversation of the Chinese, and consequently as much their distinguishing appellations as Pius, Clemens, or Benedictus are those of certain Popes.

(3) In a Chinese work that treats of their ancient coinage, obligingly communicated to me by Mr. J. Reeves of Canton, it is stated that in consequence of there having been more than one emperor named *Kaï-yuen*, some uncertainty arises in assigning the coins on which the name is found to the proper sovereign; and some persons, on account of the remoteness of the period, are inclined to doubt the genuineness of those which appear in different cabinets. On this I shall only observe, that in the lists to which I have the means of referring the name occurs but once, and that the two specimens in this collection have no indication of modern workmanship.

horizontal words are *tông* 'passing through, communicable,' and *päo* 'precious article, money,' implying 'current coin.'

MCCLXXI.

Ta-chông or *Siuan-tsông* reigned from 847 to 860. He is applauded by historians for the justice and vigour of his government, but became a dupe to the impostures of the sect of *Täo-tsé*, and drank of their pretended liquor of immortality till it occasioned his death. The specimen of his coin is of the largest size, and weighs about 16 dwt. The inscription, besides the formulary words *tông-päo*, contains the name of the emperor, *Ta-chông*, and on the reverse is the character for *shi* 'ten,' denoting its value to be that of ten *tsien* or common pieces of copper money.

DYNASTY OF THE *SÓNG*.

MCCLXXII.

Shûn-huâ, the second emperor of his dynasty, reigned under different titles, of which this was the latest, from 977 to 997.(1) His posthumous or historical name was *Taï-tsông*. In this single specimen of his money the order of the characters is not the same as on those which have been described, the reading being from the top to the right, and not from the top to the bottom character. In the phrase also for 'current money' the word *yûen* (as will frequently occur in the sequel) is substituted for *tông*. Its chief peculiarity, however, is, that the form of the writing is the *cursive*, which is rarely found on any other coin.

MCCLXXIII.

(1) According to l'Art de vérifier les Dates: in Klaproth's Verzeichniss der Chinesischen und Mandshuischen Bücher &c. it is stated to be from 976 to 995.

MCCLXXIII.

Han-ping or *Ching-tsông*, third of the same dynasty, reigned, under various titles, from 997 (or 995) to 1022. In the inscription of this coin, also, the order of reading is from the top to the right hand.

MCCLXXIV.

King-tĭ or *Ching-tsông*. This is a coin of the same emperor at a later period of his reign.

MCCLXXV.

Tsiang-fŭ or *Ching-tsông*. This also is a coin of the same emperor, under another title. Most of the specimens of his reign have the formulary words *Yuen-päu*, but one under this latter name has *Tông-päu* for 'current money;' which shews that the terms are used indifferently.

MCCLXXVI.

Kiâ-yeu or *Jin-tsông*, fourth of the dynasty, reigned from 1023 to 1063. He appears to have taken no fewer than nine different appellations, of which this of *Kiâ-yeu* was the latest. On two specimens of this emperor's coins, also, the formulary words are different, as well as the order of placing the characters.

MCCLXXVII.

Chi-ping or *Ying-tsông*, fifth of the dynasty, reigned from 1063 to 1067. Of two specimens of money with the name of *Chi-ping*, one is in the ancient and the other in the modern character; and it may be that one or the other of them belonged to a second emperor so named, who began to reign in 1087.

MCCLXXVIII.

Hi-ning or *Shin-tsông*, sixth of the dynasty, reigned from 1067 to 1085. This coin is of a larger size, and weighs nearly treble the preceding. 5 dw. 22 grs.

MCCLXXIX.

Yuen-fûng or *Ying-tsông*, the same emperor under a different title. Some specimens of his coin are in the cursive character.

MCCLXXX.

Yuen-yeu or *Chi-tsông*, seventh of the dynasty, reigned from 1085 to 1100.

MCCLXXXI.

Tsông-ning or *Hui-tsông*, eighth of the dynasty, reigned from 1100 to 1125. This specimen of his coin, which was presented to me by Sir

Sir G. T. Staunton, is double the weight and size of the usual currency. The characters (to be read perpendicularly and horizontally) are remarkable for their distinctness. 5 dw. 11 grs.

MCCLXXXII.

Chîng-ho or *Hui-tsông*, the same emperor under a different title. 4 dw. 16 gr.

MCCLXXXIII.

Siuan-ho or *Hui-tsông*, the same emperor under his latest title.

MCCLXXXIV.

Of the later emperors of the *Sông*, and particularly those who, in the thirteenth century, made ineffectual resistance to the arms of *Kublaï-khân*, there are not any coins in the collection. One which bears the name of *Tien-hy* or *Shi-lu-ku* is noted as having belonged to a prince of the western *Leäo* whose reign began in 1068; another that of *Ta-ting* or *Shi-tsông*, of the dynasty of *Kîn*, whose reign began in 1161.

DYNASTY OF THE *YUEN* OR MONGOL-TARTARS.

MCCLXXXV.

The founder of this dynasty was the great *Kublaï-khân*, whose name the Chinese pronounce *Hupilaï-hân*, but in their own language his titles were

were *Chi-yuen* and *Shi-tsú*. His coinage and those of his descendants, none of whom inherited the splendid qualities of their ancestor, appears to be more rare than that of less modern dynasties, and this collection contains only the specimen of one reign. *Chi-ho* or *Taï-ting-ti*, by whom it was struck, was the sixth of the race, and bore the Mongol name of *Yesun-Tîmûr*. His reign began in 1323 or 4, and terminated in 1328.

DYNASTY OF THE *MING*.

MCCLXXXVI.

Hông wú, from being a soldier of fortune, raised himself by his talents to the imperial dignity, and having expelled the degenerate race of the *Yuen* or Mongol Tartars, reestablished a Chinese dynasty by the appellation of *Ming*, about the year 1368. He died in 1398, having displayed throughout a long reign the original energy of his character. On the face of his coin is his name of *Hong-wû*, with the formulary words *tông-päo*, and on the reverse the character for *chi* 'to govern.'

MCCLXXXVII.

Yông-lŏ or *Ching-tsû*, who became third of the dynasty, raised, whilst prince of *Yen*, the standard of rebellion against his predecessor the grandson of *Hong-wû*, and drove him from the throne. His accession took place at *Nan-king* in 1403, and dying in 1425, he was interred at *Pe-king*, to which northern city he had transferred his court.

MCCLXXXVIII.

Wan-lî or *Shin-tsông*, fourteenth of the dynasty, succeeded to the throne in 1572 or 3, being then an infant, and died in 1620. In the year

1583 Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit, arrived in China, being the first of the order by whom the Gospel was preached in that empire. He was favourably received at court (the Benedictins observe) in consequence of his presenting a repeating watch and a turret-clock.

MCCLXXXIX.

Tsông-ching,(1) the seventeenth emperor of the Ming dynasty, began to reign in 1628. In 1643 a rebellious subject named *Lî-tsé-ching* having reduced many important places, advanced against the capital, and had already got possession of some of its gates, when the unfortunate emperor, driven to despair, put an end to his own existence. During his reign the Dominicans, and shortly after, the Franciscans, entered upon their missions.

DYNASTY OF THE *TA-TSING* OR MANCHU-TARTARS.

Shun-chî or *Shi-tsû*, although not the first of his dynasty, must be considered as the first emperor of the Manchu race who sat on the throne of China, and which his descendants now occupy. He was the son, according to some authorities, or according to others, the nephew of *Taï-tsông*, a powerful and enterprising Manchu prince, by whom the Chinese territory had been invaded and the imperial armies routed, but who had in the sequel been invited by the Chinese themselves to assist in subduing the formidable rebel *Lî-tsé-ching*, then in possession of the capital. By his efforts, or rather those of the Manchu chiefs after his decease (in 1636), the object was effected, but the allies were found too strong to be dismissed or resisted, and a new dynasty of emperors was established, about the year 1644, in the person

(1) Authorities differ in respect to his posthumous name. In l'Art de vér. les Dates and in Du Halde it is *Hoai-tsong*.

person of *Shun-chí*, at that time a minor. It was by this emperor that his Chinese subjects were compelled to adopt the Tartar custom of shaving their heads, reserving only a single lock from the crown; the intent of which was evidently to render less distinct the national difference, and thereby to conceal the vast disproportion of numbers. In 1656 an embassy from the czar of Russia arrived at Peking; but objections being made to the required ceremonial, as inconsistent with the dignity of an independent sovereign, it was not admitted to an audience. In 1661 the emperor fell a victim to the small-pox.

MCCXC.—MCCXCV.

Under this dynasty the coinage was distinguished by a new feature, exhibiting on the Reverse, in Manchu characters (with the occasional introduction of Chinese), a word or syllable that expresses, by syncope, the name of the city or province where the coin was minted, together with the word *pïu* 'money.' Accordingly on the reverses of specimens belonging to the reign of *Shun-chí* we have the following inscriptions: in Manchu characters only, *Päu-tseuân*, signifying the 'source of money,' by which is denoted the principal imperial mint, established at Peking, as distinguished from those of the provinces; in Manchu and Chinese, *Seuan*, implying it to be from the mint of *Seuan-huâ-fŭ*, in the province of *Pi-chi li*; *Chê*, for money of the province of *Chê-kiang*; *Tông*, for the province of *Shan-tông*; *Lin*, for the city of *Lin-tsing-cheú* in the same province; and lastly, in Chinese characters only, but much defaced, what seems to be the word *Shing*, of which the application is uncertain. The specimens of the coinage of this dynasty are however fairer in general as well as heavier than those of the preceding.

Kang-hi or *Shin-tsŭ-jin*, the son of *Shun-chí*, ascended the throne in 1661, at the age of eight years, and during the course of his long reign, which terminated in 1722, displayed the talents and acquirements of a great and enlightened monarch. He was disposed to protect the Christian missionaries, particularly the Jesuits, for the sake of their science, to which

he

he was warmly attached, and to allow of their propagating the Gospel; but the dissentions that arose between the different religious orders, and the cabals by which they laboured to discredit each other, disgusted the emperor, and gave occasion to decrees in which they were treated with rigour and contempt.

MCCXCVI.—MCCCII.

On the Reverses of his money the following places of coinage are expressed: in Manchu characters only, *Päu-tseuan* or the principal imperial mint; *Yuen*, for the city of *Taï-yuen-fŭ* in the province of *Shan-si*, if the words *päu-yuen* be not intended for a second imperial mint; in Manchu and Chinese, *Hô*, for the province of *Hô-nan; Chê*, for that of *Chê-kiang; Ning*, for the city of *Kiang-ning-fŭ*, antecedently *Nan-king* or the southern court, in the province of *Kiang-si; Kwang*, for the city of *Kwang-cheŭ-fŭ* (Canton); and *Tông* for the province of *Kwang-tông*.(1)

Yông-Ching or *Shi-tsông-hïen*, the son of *Kang-hi*, succeeded upon the decease of his father, being then at an advanced period of life, and died in 1735. During his reign the missionaries were openly proscribed, as disturbers of the peace of the empire, whilst their converts, or such of them as adhered to the faith they had embraced, were exposed to the most cruel persecution.

Although this emperor has been reproached with severity in his administration of justice, he possessed many qualities highly commendable in a sovereign. "La haine du Christianisme," say the Benedictins, with a liberality that does them credit, "était peut-être la seule tache qu'on remarquât dans le gouvernement de Yong-tching .... Jamais l'empire n'eut de maître plus absolu, plus chéri et en même tems plus redouté."

5 o MCCCIII.

(1) It is stated that in the reign of *Sun-chi* the word *tông* or *tŭng* denoted the money to have been coined in *Shan-tông*, but in that of *Kang-hi*, in the province of *Kwang-tông*.

MCCCIII.—MCCCV.

His coins are from the principal imperial mint; from that of *Taï-yuen-fŭ* in *Shan-si*, and from the province of *Yŭn-nan*.

Kien-lông or *Kaou-tsông-shun* was the son of his predecessor on the throne. He enjoyed a long reign of almost uninterrupted prosperity, beloved by his own people and respected by foreign nations. Amongst the tribes of western Tartars his armies made conquests that tended to secure the tranquillity of his empire. In the indulgences expected from him by the missionaries they were grievously disappointed, as they found that their exemption from the punishments denounced in the late edicts depended upon their refraining from all attempts to make proselytes and confining themselves to their duties as professors of sciences and arts. In the year 1793 he received an English embassy, and in the following year, one from the Dutch government, overlooking in the case of the former, the evasion of certain ceremonies deemed objectionable, as implying vassallage. In 1795, having then completed the sixtieth year of his reign and attained to the eighty sixth of his age, he voluntarily relinquished the throne, and nominated to the succession his fourteenth son.

MCCCVI.—MCCCXVIII.

Several of the places where the numerous specimens of his money were coined are the same as the preceding, but all are in the Manchu character, *viz.* *Pŭu-tseuan*, for the imperial mint; *Yuen*, for *Taï-yuen-fŭ* of *Shan-si*; *Chĕ*, for *Chĕ-kiang*; *Nan*, for *Hô nan*; *Chuan*, for the province of *Ssé-chuan*; *Yŭn*, for *Yŭn-nan*; *Kwei*, for the province of *Kwei-cheŭ*; *Sŭ*, for the half-province of *Kiang-sŭ*;(1) *Kwang*, for the city of *Kwang-cheŭ-fŭ*;

(1) The province of *Kiang-nan* was divided into *Kiang-sû* and *Gan-hûi*, and the province of *Hû-kwang* into *Hû-pi* and *Hû-nan*.

cheû-fû ; Chang, for *Nan-chang-fû* in *Kiang-si ; Û* or *Wû*, for *Wû-chang-fû* in *Hû-pi* a part of the province of *Hû-kwang ;* and *Tsin* for the province of *Shan-si.* In this last the analogy does not appear, but so it stands in a book containing the imperial ordinances for the details of the coinage, where the words are: '*Shan-si;* reverse-coin, *päu-tsin*; manchu words.'

Kia-king, the son of *Kien-lông*, appears to have fully equalled his predecessors in severity to the ministers of a foreign religion. To this emperor a second English embassy was deputed in 1816, and reached Peking, but in consequence of a refusal to submit to the required prostrations, it was not admitted to an audience. In 1820, having then reigned twenty five years, he died suddenly and under suspicious circumstances, at Jehol, in Tartary.

MCCCXIX.—MCCCXX.

One specimen of his coinage is from the mint of *Kwang*, for *Kwang-cheû-fû* or Canton, and another from *Yûn*, denoting the province of *Yûn-nan.* Both are in the Manchu character alone.

Taû-kwang, the emperor now reigning, is the son of *Kia-king.* Upon ascending the throne in 1821 he took the name of *Yuen-hûi*, but soon changed it for that which appears on his coin, upon finding (as it is said) that the former had been already borne by one of the *Sông* dynasty.

MCCCXXI.

The specimen has on its reverse the words *päu-kwang*, in Manchu characters, denoting it to have been minted in the city of *Kwang-cheû-fû* or Canton ; and it may be remarked that both his and the money of his predecessor have the appearance of being cast, not struck ; to which species of currency the Chinese apply the terms of *Sha-pan-tsien* 'sand-mould-coin.'

Gold and silver bullion is, at Canton, usually cast in small ingots of a peculiar form, that occasions their being denominated by the English traders a 'shoe,' and by the Dutch, a 'schuyt or boat.' A specimen in the collection, of silver, without any stamp, weighs 12 dw. 10 gr., and its shape justifies the latter rather than the former appellation.

Nearly resembling the *tsien* of the Chinese is the small brass money of *Tong-king* and Cochinchina, both of which countries are comprehended under the name of *Anan* or, more properly, *Ngan-nan*. The coins of the former, in the collection, bear the names of the following princes: *Kang-hung*, or, according to the Chinese pronunciation of the characters, *King-hing*, who reigned from the year 1740 to 1785; *Kuang-trung*, or as the Chinese would read them, *Kuang-chung*, from 1788 to 1794; *Kang-thing* or *King-shing*, from 1794 to 1801; and *Gia-laong* or *Kia-lông*, whose reign ended in 1819.

Of Cochinchina there are coins struck by princes of the names of *Taï-ho*, *Taï-ping* (borne also by several emperors of China), and *Ching-ho*, as pronounced by the Chinese; but the dates of their respective reigns are unknown. These specimens were collected by the late Sir G. Staunton, when the ships conveying the English embassy to the emperor *Kien-lông* anchored in Turon bay, and given to me by his son Sir G. T. Staunton.

MISCELLANEOUS COINS.

SOME few interesting coins, which, either from their having but recently come to my hands, or on account of uncertainties in the reading, had not been described in the places they ought properly to have occupied, shall now receive the notice they deserve.

MCCCXXII.

Amongst these by far the most curious and remarkable is a Cufic *dirhem* (but not belonging to the collection) of the year 79 of the *hejrah*, the importance of which will be best understood by reference to what has been said at page 1, in treating of the coinage of the *Ommiah* dynasty, where it will be seen that a *dirhem* of the same date has long been preserved in the cabinet of the Royal Academy of Stockholm; that it was first made known to the world by the writings of Clewberg, in the year 1755; and that engravings of it have since been repeatedly given by other numismatic authors, as an unique specimen of mussulman coinage at that early period. How far the discovery of another coeval specimen, although from the mint of a *different city*, may be thought to derogate from that exclusive pretension, must depend upon the opinion of medallists, who will probably decide that each possesses an independent claim.

Upon looking over the collections made by the late Mr. Claudius James Rich on the classical ground (as it respects oriental literature) of *Basrah* and *Baghdâd*, where he had long resided as agent for the East India Company, many Cufic coins of the first race of khalifs presented themselves, and among them one of the date abovementioned, which I at first

first supposed to be a duplicate of the celebrated Swedish dirhem, but upon further inspection perceived it to be from the mint of the city of *Kûfah*, as the other is from that of *Demeshk* or Damascus. It should be observed that *Kûfah*, *Wâset* (where many early coins were likewise struck), and all the cities of Arabian Irak, were under the immediate jurisdiction of *Al-Hejâj*, to whom is attributed the merit of reforming and perfecting, if he did not in fact originate the mussulman coinage.

When, in consequence of Mr. Rich's collection being offered for sale to the British Museum, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to ascertain its value, and I was called upon (along with several others) for an opinion, I recommended that a liberal price should be given by the public for the medals, being fully satisfied of their importance to a national depository and aware that the *dirhem* of 79, in particular, would be an object of acquisition with several of the potentates of Europe, who have manifested of late years a laudable desire to enrich their respective cabinets with this species of oriental treasure.(1) They were accordingly valued at the sum of one thousand pounds, and being now deposited in the British Museum, I am indulged by the courtesy of the Trustees with permission to describe and have an engraving made of this rare coin, which will appear (unnumbered) in the LVIIth and concluding Plate of the work.

The general appearance of the money and the words of its inscriptions are precisely the same as those of the other dirhems coined at periods immediately subsequent, with the exception of the marginal line of that side which contains in its area the mussulman symbol peculiar to the *Ommiah* race, where the sentence is as follows: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بكوفه في سنه تسع و سبعين In nomine Dei cuditur hæc drachma in (urbe) *Kûfah*, anno novem et septuaginta (A.D. 698). Wt. 1 dw. 18 gr.

The

(1) The great accessions that have been made to the riches of the Petropolitan and the Milanese museums are well known by the writings of Professor Frœhn and the splendid work of Sign. Cattaneo and the Conte Castiglioni. Very recently, also, H. I. M. the Emperor of Russia has purchased a second oriental collection of M. Rousseau (formerly Consul-general of France at *Baghdâd*, and now in the same situation at Tripoli in Africa), having paid for the first the sum of 30,000 francs.

The name of the reigning khalif is not found upon any coin of this first dynasty, but the Commander of the Faithful who had the merit of establishing mints throughout the empire was *Abd al-malek* the son of *Merwân*, whose khalifat began in 65 and ended in 86. Of his son and successor *Walîd* I observe also, in Mr. Rich's collection, dirhems with the dates of 91, 92, and 93: and here the opportunity presents itself of mentioning that in a fine assortment of oriental coins formed in India and Persia by my friend Sir Gore Ouseley, there is likewise a dirhem of 91 and another of 94. The earliest in my own collection, as has been seen in P. 1., are of 85, 89, 90 and 92.

MCCCXXIII.

In describing the money of the Patan sultans of Dehli mention was made (p. 523) of the deposition of *Rukn ed-dîn Fîrûz shâh*, when the nobles placed on the throne his sister, who reigned with much reputation from 634 to 637 (1239), by the title of the sultana *Rezîah*.(1) It was also stated that a small copper coin bearing her name, which I had then but slightly inspected, had afterwards come into my possession. It will now appear in the Plate. Of its inscription the middle word رضيه *Rezîah* only is distinct. Those of the upper line are not legible, but may be thought to resemble سلطانه الاعظم 'sultana maxima,' which, however, are not to be reconciled in construction with the last line, which seems to be الدنيا و الدين *ed-dunîa wa ed-dîn* 'mundi et fidei,' although read differently in my first notice of it.

(1) "Sultana Rizia (says Dow, from Ferishtah) was adorned with every qualification necessary in the ablest kings; and the strictest scrutineers of her actions could find in her no fault but that she was a woman." Vol. I. p. 194.

MCCCXXIV.

Of the petty kingdom on the coast of Malabar named *Kananore* (properly *Kanura*) there are several small silver coins, equal in weight to the fifth part of a rupih, but probably intended for the quarter. Their inscription, on one side, is الملك الوالي علي راجا 'Rex jurisdictionem exercens, *Alî Râjâ*,' and on the other, بالهجرة سنه ١١٨٨ anno secundum *hejrah* 1188 (1774). Wt. 1 dw. 11 gr.

The earliest date found amongst them is 1144 (1731) and the most recent1203 (1788), but all containing the same legends, from whence it is to be inferred that the name or appellative of *Alî Râjâ* was adopted by each successive ruler. It is well known that the Malabar law of inheritance, both as it respects the government and noble families, is peculiar; the son of the sister being considered as the immediate heir, and that the country is not unfrequently governed by females, as was the case when visited by Dr. Buchanan in 1801, although perhaps as regents only; which may account for the epithet of الوالي *al-wâlî*. The anomalous mixture of mussulman and Hindu titles will be explained from the circumstances mentioned on the occasion by that intelligent writer.(1) Another gentleman, who had official knowledge of the district, informs me that the queen or *bîbî* herself was known by the name of *Ali Râjâ*, and as the the word ملك rex, not ملكة regina is invariably used, it would seem that these ladies, like Maria Theresa of Hungary, affected the masculine in preference to the feminine title. It should be observed that the Lacadive islands form a part of the Kananore dominions.

MCCCXXV.

(1) "Various contradictory accounts are given concerning the manner in which a mussulman family came to be possessed of a sovereignty in Malabar. The most probable is, that they were originally petty *Nair* (Hindu) chiefs, who obtained a grant of this territory from *Cheruman Permal;* and that they afterwards were converted, owing to a young lady's having fallen in love with a mussulman. The children she had by him were of course outcasts from the Hindus; but being heirs to the family, it was judged prudent for the whole to embrace the faith of Mahomet, in order to prevent the estate from reverting to the *Cherical Râjâ* on the failure of heirs. The only male at present in the family is a lad, son of the *Biby* or lady of *Cananore*, who manages the affairs of the family during his minority.... He will be succeeded by the son of his niece, who is the daughter of his sister." Travels through Mysore, &c. vol. II. p. 553.

MCCCXXV.—MCCCXXVII.

Three small gold coins, of an octangular shape and uncommon appearance, have baffled my attempts to identify the sultans whose names they bear, or the country to which they belong. The first has on one side the words سلطان محمود شاه *Sultán Mahmúd Sháh*, and on the other خليفه المومنين Khalif of the Faithful; the second has سلطان عبد الجليل شاه *Sultán Abd al-Jalíl Sháh*, with its Reverse the same as the first. The respective weights of these are 1 dw. 15 gr. and 1 dw. 14¼ gr. The third has the same inscription as the second, but weighs only 9½ gr., being the quarter part of the other denomination.

The name of *Mahmúd* is too common to afford any useful clue, and, on the other hand, that of *Abd al-Jalíl* does not occur in any list, as the successor or predecessor of *Mahmúd*. It happens, indeed, that one of the descendants of *Mahmúd* the sultan of *Ghaznah* was *Jelál ed-dín*, and we find the same combination amongst the sultans of *Kharism*, but this name, which signifies the 'Glory of the Faith,' is materially different from that on the coin, signifying the 'Slave of the Glorious, *i.e.* the Deity.'

MCCCXXVIII.

A gold *muhr* of *Sháh Zemán* king of *Kábul*, son of *Timúr Sháh* the son of *Ahmed Sháh Abdáli*, has on one side the following rythmical inscription: قرار يافت بحكم خداي هردو جهان رواج سكه دولة بنام شاه زمان 'Cursus nummi imperialis, nomine *Sháh Zemán* (regis seculi), constantiam recepit jussu Dei utriusque mundi;' and on the Reverse: ضرب شرف البلاد احمد شاهي ١٢١٥ 'Cuditur in excellentia urbium *Ahmed Sháhi*, 1215 (1800).' Weight 7 dw.

The name by which the place of coinage is here designated was given to the city of *Kandahár* by *Ahmed Sháh*, the founder of the dynasty,

who rebuilt it, soon after the death of *Nâdir Shâh*.(1) Although no longer the capital of *Shâh Zemân's* dominions, it was the scene of many of his political and military operations about this period.(2)

A few words in the lower part of the obverse side are nearly obliterated in my specimen, and the above reading has been completed by comparison with a similar coin belonging to Sir Gore Ouseley, to whose assistance I have in this and other instances been indebted. It may be allowed me to mention here, incidentally, that the doubtful word noticed in the money of a Patan king of Dehli (DCCI.) was written by Sir Gore المنير, without a knowledge of its being a subject of discussion.(3) He likewise informs me that he saw in Bengal the original Hindu gold coin, from whence the imitation (MLX.) was produced by Mr. Speke, as stated in page 730.

MCCCXXIX.

A small, square, and very neatly-executed silver coin appears to be from the mint of *Katak* or Cuttack, a well known city of the province of Orissa, but under what authority or circumstances it was struck is at present unknown to me. The words on one side, in the *tâlîk* character, are درهم شرعي 'moneta legalis,' and on the other: ضرب كتك ٢٩ 'cuditur in *Katak*, 29.' If the numerals denote the twenty ninth year of the reign of the emperor *Shâh Alum*, the coinage must have taken place about the year 1202 (1788). It was not till 1803 that the district of *Katak* was ceded to the East India Company by the Mahratta *râjâ* of *Nâgpûr*.

MCCCXXX.

(1) "*Ahmed Shauh* (says Mr. Elphinstone in his excellent 'Account of Caubul') founded the present city (of Candahar), to which he gave the name of *Ahmed Shauhee*, and the title of *Ashrefool Belaud* (*Sherf ul-belâd*) or the noblest of cities; by that name and title it is still mentioned in public papers and in the language of the court; but the old name of Candahar still prevails among the people, though it has lost its rhyming addition of *Daurool Kurrar* or the abode of quiet." P. 423.

(2) In our East-Indian gazettes he has been usually called *Zemân Shâh*.

(3) See p. 529.

MCCCXXX.

This silver medal, struck by the vizir *Shujâ ed-daulah*, commonly termed the Nabob of Oude, on the occasion of his victory over the *Rohillah Afghâns*, has been already described in the Additamentum to O. G. Tychsen's Introd. in rem. num. Muh., with a translation by the Baron S. de Sacy; but no account of it having hitherto appeared in this country, although the event it celebrates is intimately connected with our Indian politics, the propriety of noticing it in this place is unquestionable, and especially as there are some points of difference between my specimen and Tychsen's rude engraving. The following are the inscriptions: نواب شجاع الدوله وزير اعظم هند يازدهم صفر روز شنبه سنه ۱۱۸۸ در الهي‌كهيړه روهيله‌هارا زده و حافظ رحمت خان سردار روهيله كشته شده 'The *Nawâb Shujâ ed-daulah*, Grand-vizîr of India, on Saturday the eleventh of (the month) *Safar* (A.H.) 1188 (A.D. 1774) defeated the Rohillahs at *Alahî Kahîrah*,(1) and *Hâfiz Rahmet Khân*, the chief of the Rohillahs, was slain.' انا فتحناه فتحا مبينا ليغفر لك الله ما تقدم من ذنبك وما تاخر 'Truly we have conquered with a conspicuous victory. For this the inhabitants of India will rejoice.'

On the side of the coin which contains the latter sentence, and nearly encircled by it, are two swords: one of them representing the biforked sword of *Ali*, known by the appellation of ذوالفقار *zû'l fekâr*,(2) and the

 other

(1) This name, the characters of which are sufficiently plain on the medal, does not appear in any of our maps. In the published accounts of the battle it is stated to have been fought at the village of *Kutterah*, not far from *Shâhjehân-pûr* and *Shâh-abâd*, on the southern border of Rohilkund or more properly *Kuttâher*. It would be too hazardous to suppose that the engraver of the die had misplaced the double point, which if above instead of beneath the body of the letter, would change the word from كهيړه *Kahîrah* to كهتړه *Khaterah*.

(2) The miraculous weapon here represented is said by Golius, Meninski, and others, to have belonged to the Prophet himself ('nomen gladii qui Muhammedis fuit'), from whom, in that case, it must have descended, as an heir-loom, to his son-in-law, who is seen in Persian drawings to wield it in his combats. *Shujâà ed-daulah* was of the sect of *Ali*, and it is not a little remarkable that the name of the eldest son of his antagonist, *Hâfiz Rhamet*, was *Zû'l-fekâr khân*.

other (crossing the handle of the first), a common Hindustani scimitar; intended perhaps by the vizîr as a compliment to his allies.(3) Its weight is 13 dw. 17 gr.

The description of a peculiar rupih, which is here represented amongst the miscellaneous coins, will be found under no. DCCCCLXXXVII. at p. 697. It was struck by *Ghâzî ed-dîn Heider*, the grandson of *Shujâà ed-daulah*, now king of Oude, in 1234 (1818–19), the year before his assumption of royalty. The specimen was not in my possession at the time of engraving Plate XLIV., where it would more consistently have found a place.

I take this occasion of making my acknowledgments for the flattering gift of a work on the Persian language (in two splendid folio volumes) composed by this enlightened monarch, which I received with the following letter. "East India House, 17th March 1824. 'Sir, His Majesty the King of Oude having been pleased to place at the disposal of the East-India Company some sets of a Persian Dictionary compiled by himself, entitled 'The Seven Seas;' I have it in command to present in the name of His Majesty the accompanying copy thereof for your acceptance.' I have the honor to be, &c. J. DART, Sec."

Subsequently to printing the remarks that have appeared at p. 609–616, on the subject of coins struck by the emperor *Jehân-gîr*, exhibiting the signs of the zodiac, the following passage respecting them has occurred to me in the 'Voyages de C. P. Thunberg au Japon &c. par M. Langlès;' and

(3) The combined forces were commanded by Colonel Alexander Champion. See 'An historical Relation of the Origin &c. of the Rohilla Afgans,' by Charles Hamilton, p. 229. To this very intelligent and accomplished oriental scholar, who died prematurely, we are also indebted for the *Hedâya* or Commentary on the Mussulman Laws, published in 1791.

and which, in tracing the history of those celebrated productions of the Indian mint, should not be overlooked: "Parmi les collections curieuses que je vis dans cette ville (Amsterdam), je ne dois pas oublier le beau médailler du pasteur de l'église Oudekerk; j'y vis, pour la première fois, une suite complète des roupies d'or nommées zodiaques, que je n'avois pu me procurer dans l'Inde. Il les avoit achetées trois cents florins, et d'après mes vives sollicitations, il se détermina à me les céder pour sept cents florins. Cette précieuse collection, ainsi que le portrait de Sélym Ier. (the bacchanalian medal of *Jehân-gîr*) avoit été donné en présent par Imhoff, gouverneur-général de Batavia, à un de ses parens, que le besoin força de s'en défaire." T. II. p. 469. Although this anecdote may seem to strengthen the common opinion of an extensive Batavian fabrication, it proves no more than would the possession of a similar set by a curious individual in any other part of the world; and it should be observed, that previously to Baron Imhoff's holding the distinguished situation of Governor-general, he must, in the course of service, have filled high offices in the Dutch settlements on the continent of India; where, and not in Java, his collection may have been formed.

With reference to the ancient Hindu gold coins, no. ML. to MLX. in Pl. XLVII. described at p. 726–30, and the doubts expressed as to the certainty of the Greek origin imputed to them by a distinguished antiquary, it may be interesting to some of my readers to learn that I have recently procured three small copper medals (rude indeed, and in bad preservation) containing figures that bear a strong resemblance to those on the former, both in the attitudes of the whole-length male personages, and the sitting posture of the female, but with the peculiar distinction of having Greek instead of Indian characters in their short and imperfect legends. The collection at the East India House, as well as that of Major Tod, I find to possess many specimens of the same class, and some of them still more decided in the representation of Hindu emblems. From the examination of these may be drawn the least equivocal proofs of the connexion in letters and mythology between those two countries; and it is hoped that the subject, not less important than curious, may engage the attention of some scholar who shall combine a thorough knowledge

knowledge of classical with that of oriental literature, and whose judgment shall be equal to his learning.(1)

(1) Some remarks by a learned Professor of Petersburgh of what appear to him as inaccuracies in the First Part of the work, having come to my knowledge, I readily avail myself of this opportunity of stating them to the reader. In the Cufic coin of the year 97, No. VI., the characters سابور *sâbûr*, which I supposed to be a portion of the name of *Nisâbûr*, a city of *Khorâsân*, he thinks should be the ancient city of *Sâbûr* for شاپور *Shâpûr*, in the province of Fars, famous for its sculptures. On No. L. he reads بن السري *ben es-sary* for بن الشرفي *ben al-Sherfi*. On LI. عبيد الله بن السري *Obeid-ullah ben es-sary* for عبدالله بن لهر... *Abd-allah ben al-Har*... On LIV., in the place of coinage, he points out a confusion between ارآن *Arràn*, i. e. *Berdaà*, of Armenia and حران *Harrân*, a city of Mesopotamia; and at the bottom of the legend of the same dirhem, the characters presumed to be a mint-mark, which I have read عي, he pronounces to be ع only. These are, I believe, the only instances in which he has honoured me with his polite notice.

Under No. MCCLXXXV. p. 824, mention has been made of a coin of the Chinese emperor *Chi-ho* or *Taï-ting-ti*, sixth of the *Yuen* dynasty. The presumed specimen does not appear in its place, but it has been suggested to me by competent persons that no coin of that description is to be found in any Chinese numismatic work, and that it was, more probably, the money of *Ching-ho*, eighth of the *Sông*; the characters bearing a resemblance to each other, and being liable to mistake on a specimen in imperfect preservation.

In describing the coinage of Japan I omitted to notice a curious and beautiful implement or toy, the ornaments of which were most apposite to the subject. It consists of a japanned box or case for steelyards (between eleven and twelve inches in length), having both on the outside and inside of its lid, in exquisite workmanship, representations of all the coins and standards of money-weight, in use throughout the empire, and so faithfully imitated, in gold and silver, as to convey the idea of their being the coins themselves, inlaid. The machine was procured, and obligingly sent to me, by Sir T. S. Raffles, at the time of his making an attempt, as Governor of Java, to open or renew the Dutch commercial intercourse with that country.

END OF THE SECOND PART.

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